Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-90-122
Monday
25 June 1990

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Student Strikes Continue in Sofia; Others Join

Protesters Camping in Streets

AU2406170690 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 20 Jun 90 p 4

[Lyubomir Malinov report: "Camping Outside Parliament"]

[Excerpts] A man of the cloth was the first to pitch his tent in the garden in front of the Holy Synod near Aleksandur Nevski Square. Priest Krustyu Stoyanov from Be'ovo has already spent 24 days in this garden. "I am protesting against being illegally deprived of the right to work in my profession as a clergyman. I will stay here until my claim is answered," said the 55-year-old priest.

The tent provides him with shelter only during the day. The priest is sick, so the Bulgarian Red Cross pays for a hotel room in the nearby Serdika Hotel. He also receives an allowance for food, also provided by the Red Cross.

What about the Holy Synod? The priest always has his back to the building into which he was summoned at the start of his protest, to be given assurances and promises. "I did not believe them, because they have done nothing for me for three years," the priest explained. According to him, they did not even give him a cup of tea, but promised again to solve his case. "I am helping them to do this by staying here," he maintained.

Many citizens have signed the book in support of his demands.

Meanwhile, the center of Sofia is increasingly resembling a camp site. The municipal authorities have not yet thought of collecting resort taxes, so the number of campers is increasing.

The parks and green spaces are not the only areas to be used for pitching tents. The university is surrounded by the wigwams and "climbers tents" of supporters of the students' strike and members of their "Initiative Committee for Civil Disobedience." [passage omitted]

Three people have been camping all week in a green tent on a stone slab beside the left flank of the horse of the Tsar Liberator, directly opposite the National Assembly building. Last Tuesday [14 June] they had no shelter from the rain, and covered themselves with banners, but later their supporters provided them with sleeping bags.

Cantor Kamen Garena, and his young friends Yaroslava Popova and Dimitur Dimitrov, are members of the National Radical Party. Their presence across from parliament is to express their disagreement with "the National Assembly admitting people with a foreign national consciousness. The Rights and Freedoms Movement, the National Radicals claim, is illegal, because it has an ethnic basis. [passage omitted]

The tents in the capital's center are multiplying. If you have an axe to grind, if you have problems, this is a possible course of action.

Accused of Abusing Democracy

AU2506081090 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 21 Jun 90 p 1

[Major Tsoncho Draganski article: "Our Versions of Democracy"]

[Text] We are advancing on the road to democracy. We are watching what the others are doing, but not quite. We are going our own way. We have already held elections for a Grand National Assembly, passed a vote of confidence in our chosen deputies, and hope that they will pass just laws and make competent decisions.

However, some are beginning to be too hasty. Of course we all support a state based on laws, but what will these laws be like, and how long will we wait for them? How much easier it is for an isolated group to demand, for example, the replacement of the chairman of the Television Committee, no matter that only the future Grand National Assembly is empowered to make such a decision. Before the protest against the chairman came up, claims were also made against certain television programmers, newspaper editors, and so on. What can one do, one has to shout, one has to scream and attract attention.

A few days ago the familiar chanting was heard outside the National Assembly, this time concerning the work of the Central Electoral Commission. What did the protesters want, was it the committee's resignation? Do these cries carry weight, or are they versions of our democracy? If we like the results, the elections are fair. If the results are not to our satisfaction, let us make a noise!

Today demands will be raised for the resignation of one person, tomorrow it will be someone else's turn, and thus we will democratize our country in our Bulgarian or Balkan way. Until recently we liked the rector of Sofia University, but now we do dont. He is not unpopular with everyone, but only with a section of the students. Once again, the calls to resign are raised.

Where will this behavior lead us? To democracy? It seems we are choosing another direction, and a wrong one. He who appoints also dismisses, as the saying goes. This is not achieved by chanting and slogans on the part of an isolated group.

It seems that on one occasion we take the democratic countries as a model (when it is to our advantage), while on another we prefer obsolete and forgotten alternatives. Yes, we have lived long enough to see such cases. One rally apparently called for the president's resignation, so we understand. How easy it is! To get someone to resign, we only have to chant his name, and then...welcome to the new president! Provided, of course, that a few days later some other group does not demand the resignation of the newly elected president. Will these be our versions of democracy?

It turns out that the inventiveness of some people does not stop here. What more could there be? Demands for

the resignations of a university rector, a chairman of the Television Committee, a president.... Yet one of the new leaders called on the participants in a rally to relieve themselves and take off, leaving in the country only the people who are afraid. This is the very peak of our inventiveness. Should we not expect others, even more original and democratic?

Drama Students Threaten Hunger Strike

AU2206111290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] The striking students at the Krustyu Sarafov Theatrical Institute have issued a declaration in connection with the failure to meet their demands, which states the following:

Because of the complete silence regarding the issues of the resignation of Mr. Pavel Pisarev [director of the Television Committee] and of publishing the results of the expert examination to establish the authenticity of the videotape of Mr. Petur Mladenov recorded during the rally in front of the National Assembly on 14 December, from the moment of the deadline's expiration as estabished in the ultimatum—1200 [0900 GMT] on 22 June, that is, from this moment, we declare a seven-day sit-in hunger strike in front of the building of the Krustyu Sarafov Institute.

In an appeal, the students also state: Our strike is an extreme measure, which we are compelled to take to defend Bulgarian civil rights and the human dignity of every Bulgarian. Our strike is not connected with any party; our people are free of political bias and are united by a single idea, to defend the truth and only the truth.

The mass media are not reporting our demands in a sufficiently regular and unbiased manner, and there are delays in meeting these demands. We, the students who have started this action, are guided solely by our desire to help our country on its road toward progress, armed with the truth. Each one of us is guided solely by his or her feelings of civic duty. Support our initiative, because if we fail to defend our rights by joint efforts, we will never succeed in bringing an end to the process which we have all begun.

He hope to receive your support and trust, in order that we may be free and worthy citizens of our country, states the appeal of the striking students at the Krustyu Sarafov Institute.

The students confederation at the Higher Mechanical and Electrical Engineering Institute in Sofia, assessing the situation in the country, made the following declaration:

As Bulgarian students, we are part of our people and support the processes of renewal and democratization in all spheres of social life. We also support the demands of our fellow students, on strike at other higher educational establishments, for the mass media to provide publicity to all established breaches committed during the election campaign and the elections themselves. This view is shared by a large proportion of the students. We respect the right of everyone to freely voice their opinion and to defend it by all lawful means.

We appeal to those holding the sit-in strike in part of the building of the Higher Mechanical and Electrical Engineering Institute not to obstruct those students wishing to take their examinations in the current session and to complete their written papers, which have to be handed in before established deadlines, or to hinder the student admissions process and the other activities specific to higher educational establishments.

Let the students of Sofia's higher educational establishments set an example of tolerance, correct and civilized behavior within the grounds of higher educational establishments.

Others Urged To Strike

AU2206145690 Sofia BTA in English 1324 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 22 Jun (BTA)—Today the striking students from the 6 occupied higher educational establishments urged their colleagues from around the country to go on strike, reads an appeal. The strike is in its 12th day, but the student's main demands are not met. Eight days ago some Sofia University students went on a hunger strike.

Late last week the students set June 21 as a deadline for two of their demands and warned that if they were not met they would call for a general strike. Yesterday the striking students decided to extend the deadline till noon on June 22. In their view the good will they have displayed with the extension of the ultimatum was not assessed well.

Further on Demands, Declarations

AU2206200590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] The students of the Sveti Kiril i Metodi University in Veliko Turnovo are in solidarity with their stirking colleagues at other Bulgarian universities. After the ultimatum for the fulfillment of students' demands had elapsed, 12 of the striking students from Veliko Turnovo University, declared that they were going on an indefinite hunger strike. In the adopted declaration, the students declared that considering that the students' demands had not been satisfied, the students would join the nationwide strike of academic youth. The declaration stresses that the president of the Republic and the chairman of the Bulgarian Television Committee are solely responsible for any disruption of university life and of the forthcoming entrance examinations.

Emergency medical services in Sofia have organized a special team for medical consultation and assistance to the students who are on strike at Sofia University. An emergency operation has already been performed on a student suffering from an acute appendicitis.

The local emergency medical services have also ensured medical supplies for striking students in Varna, and (?Yambol). A physician and a nurse on duty are available for the students between 0700 and 1100. The "Podkrepa" trade union federation is taking care of catering for the students.

Representatives of the Students Movement for Democracy announced in a declaration that the meeting between representatives of the movement and the Student's Strike Committee did not take place, as agreed upon in advance, at 1700 today because the representatives of the Strike Committee failed to appear for the meeting.

Geology Students Join Strike

AU2306200490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 23 Jun 90

[Text] A sit-in strike was declared today in the Higher Institute of Mining and Geology in Sofia. The strikers plan to block all activities at the institute, with the exception of the computer center, because of the upcoming student admission process.

In a declaration to the teaching staff of the Higher Mechanical and Electrical Engineering Institute in Sofia, the strike committee voices its disagreement with the holding of examinations without protocols, the maintaining of student lists, as well as the holding of examinations in gardens and cafeterias on several occasions over the last few days. The strike committee makes an appeal for the examination session to be postponed until September.

In an appeal, the leadership of the independent trade union of the St. Kliment Okhridski University of Sofia voiced its alarm and concern over the occupation of the university. The appeal calls upon the university administration to make amendments to the draft regulations for the organization and activities of the university, to set up a commission of experts to assess the damage caused by the occupation, and to ask for a declaration of acceptance of responsibility from all organizations which are supporting the occupation both morally and materially.

Protests Enter 14th Day

AU2406190890 Sofia BTA in English 1555 GMT 24 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 24 Jun (BTA)—Today groups which declared themselves for civil disobedience closed again the boulevard in front of Sofia University. They express their protest against manipulations in the elections and declare that they support the demands of the students which have occupied the University.

Today is the 14th day of the occupational strike of students from Sofia University. The students' strikes in Veliko Turnovo, Blagoevgrad, Ruse and other academical centers are still on.

Students at the Higher Institute for Theater are still continuing their relay hunger strike. They insist that two of the students from the Cinema Department be included in the team for the video expertise of the tape of the phrase spoked by Bulgarian President "It is best that the tanks will come."

The students from Veliko Turnovo have taken a decision not to observe the agreements with their rector's leadership for holding of exams. Their resolution was a result of infringements of the agreements and a reply of their Sofia colleagues appeal for a general students' strike.

In Sofia the students from the Institute on Mining and Geology and the Institute of Communications have also declared occupational strike. The students from the Higher Chemical and Technological Institute have declared a symbolic strike.

So far no compromise has been reached between the students and the rector's leaderships, in spite of the attempts made. They continue to exchange declarations, demands and addresses.

There are already committees by Sofia University lecturers who think that "University autonomy is not equal to anarchy" and are against the blocking of the University building.

The lecturers who are backing the strike accuse the rector's leadership for creating conditions for public opinion manipulation. They insist that the leadership would organize the entrance examinations, postpone the exam session and order the payment of salaries and scholarships. It they don't do that they should take the responsibility, these lecturers say.

Today the students from Sofia University have sent an appeal to the world academic society. "Join us," the students write. "Alarm the world public."

Elements of Fear During Elections Analyzed

AU2206211490 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 19 Jun 90 p 3

[Miglena Ivanova article: "Farewell To Fear"]

[Text] Did we really say farewell to fear? We are no longer forced unconditionally to vote. Left alone in a dark booth, everyone is free to vote according to his own will. He can express not only his party affiliation, but also his personal preference for a certain candidate; he is free to act according to his civic conscience and sense of responsibility.

Another question is related to the fact that during the election campaign the methods of persuading people to vote for a given political force, supposedly the best, involved certain elements of intimidation, and this happened in some places and on certain occasions. A real moral and ethical code of rules for conducting the election campaign is still expected to be drafted because it is impossible to establish a distinct line between

correct persuasion based upon correct, logical arguments, and slightly more concealed forms of intimidation based upon supposed legal statutes.

On the other hand, the norms dealing with various cases of "excessive canvassing" will presumably be expanded. There is a wide range of acts that should be dealt with, from petty hooliganism and the breaking of windows of election clubs (for which fines or charges for the repair of damages could be introduced, for example), to legal action against slanderous public statements and newspaper articles. Such measures are required, considering that all the aforementioned acts represent methods of intimidation and only serve to create an atmosphere of insecurity.

As far as the psychological factors of fear are concerned—such as the fear of losing one's position, the fear that all past achievements might appear meaningless, which results in "wandering" from one party to the other—the efforts of overcoming such fears are really the most difficult and painful ones. To a great extent it is true that we are no longer afraid of openly and honestly stating our opinions and that we can do this in—almost—all places, but are we sure that no one will be harmed by this? I think that, at least for the time being, we cannot prevent someone from being hurt by the truth, either because of the force of habit, or because of misunderstood loyalty.

Perhaps the magic key to the solution of this problem can be found by expressing our opinions on the basis of honorably fulfilling our civic duties and professional obligations, and also by introducing new criteria of human decency, besides the establishment of democratic institutions. Under these circumstances, human qualities would be judged on the basis of their own value and not according to one's party affiliations. Only when this becomes true, will fear be replaced by a peaceful confidence in one's own strength and abilities. As a result of this, voting will develop into a truly independent expression of man's free will, which should increasingly become immune to improper influences. As a matter of fact, I am convinced that we have already accomplished the first step in this direction.

BSP Holds 'Victory Rally'; Lilov Speaks

AU2206171490

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1545 GMT on 22 June begins a live relay from Sofia's Bulgaria Square, in front of the People's Palace of Culture, where a festive, open-air rally of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) to celebrate the election victory is taking place.

An unidentified reporter announces that Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the BSP Supreme Council, addressed the audience, saying that the present rally could be called "a rally of confidence" because on this occasion the "Bulgarian Socialists are expressing their gratitude for the confidence of the voters." The reporter also cites Lilov as saying that "the BSP expresses its respect for all Bulgarian citizens who voted for other parties and all other political forces in parliament who were the competitors of the Bulgarian Socialists in the election campaign, but from now on they will be our partners in the construction of Bulgaria and in overcoming the economic crisis."

The reporter adds that Aleksandur Lilov appealed for a "peaceful atmosphere in the country" and recommended a coalition government representing the interests of the whole country.

Further on Lilov Speech

AU2206192090 Sofia BTA in English 1753 GMT 22 Jun 90

["Socialists Call For National Concord"—BTA Headline]

[Text] Sofia, 22 Jun (BTA)—The leader of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), Mr Aleksandur Lilov, defined the elections for a Grand National Assembly held in the country as a great victory for democracy. At this evening's rally of the BSP (the last one held in connection with the elections), the chairman of the Presidium of the BSP said that the Socialists respect the people who voted for other political parties and that the socialists are tolerant of the other political forces in the country in which they see partners in the post-election period.

Mr Aleksandur Lilov underlined that the elections did not provide solution to Bulgaria's problems and that now she needs constructiveness, not confrontation. The country does not need a one-party government, it needs a coalition, a nationally responsible government formed on a broad social basis, he said.

The leader of the BSP pointed out that the formulation of such government is dictated not by the interests of the Socialists, but by the interests of Bulgaria. "We call upon all political parties for interaction in the administration of Bulgaria", he stressed.

Mr Lilov spoke about the problems arising in connection with the changes within the BSP and pointed out were not an election tactic, but a strategic goal. The renewal of the BSP should be continued on an even larger scale in all areas and on all levels, Mr Lilov said.

The rally was attended by Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov, Defense Minister Dobri Dzhurov and other BSP leaders.

SDS Declaration Confirms CEC's Objectivity

AU2206172590 Sofia BTA in English 1622 GMT 22 Jun 90

["Declaration of SDS Coordinating Council"—BTA Headline]

[Text] Sofia, 22 Jun (BTA)—In a declaration presented to the BTA for circulation the Coordinating Council of

the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) declares that there has never been and there is not any ground for accusing the Central Electoral Commission [CEC] of illegal actions or omissions which could make it possible to change the election results. Representatives of the SDS were included and worked in the commission.

The Coordinating Council of the SDS explicitly states that there is no ground for accusations or reproaches in connection with the personality and the activity of the chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, Prof Zhivko Stalev, and its secretary, Mr Dimitur Popov. The Coordinating Council points out that there is ground for accusing some members of the commissions of the electoral districts and constituencies and some officials of the municipal people's councils who delayed the delivery of the electoral vote-count records to the Central Electoral Commission and for making charges against the local nomenclature which "manipulated the public conscience in an impermissible way in connection with the elections".

It is said in the declaration that any publications brought out by DEMOKRATSIYA, the paper of the SDS, in the opposite sense do not represent the official position of the SDS Coordinating Council.

Gorbachev Congratulates Leaders on Elections

AU2206172690 Sofia BTA in English 1625 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 22 Jun (BTA)—The leadership of Bulgaria has received a cable of greetings from Mr Mikhail Gorbachev in connection with the successful holding of free and democratic elections for Bulgaria's Grand National Assembly.

Prosecutor Issues Statement on Mladenov Video

AU2206153690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 22 Jun 90

["Announcement for Public Dissemination" submitted to BTA by the Chief Prosecutor's Office; place and date not given]

[Text] On 13 June the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] election campaign program showed a film on Bulgarian television which attacked President of the Republic Petur Mladenov.

As early as the evening of 13 June, and in the daily DUMA on 15 June, the president delivered and published a statement denying the facts in question.

In this connection the Chief Prosecutor's Office on 22 June 1990 started a preliminary investigation to clarify the circumstances under which the video recording was made and processed, whether the video film truthfully reflected the president's statement [words indistinct]. For this purpose the original video recording and the video camera with which the event was filmed are needed, because no expert examination can be carried out without these items.

The public shall be informed in a timely fashion concerning the results of the investigation.

More on Investigation

AU2206163490 Sofia BTA in English 1515 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 22 Jun (BTA)—The Prosecuting Magistracy has announced that a preliminary investigation is underway to clarify the circumstances in which the video recording of the session of the National Assembly held on December 14, 1989, which the election TV studio programme of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) broadcast on June 14 this year, was made. The video record shows the president of the republic, Mr. Petur Mladenov, who, having failed to calm down the demonstrators protesting in front of the building of the Bulgarian parliament, says, "The best thing to do is let the tanks come." On the same evening in a statement read on television the president denied the charges made against him. He said that the video recording was a "primitive montage." On the following day Mr. Mladenov's statement was published in DUMA.

The task of carrying out the investigation to establish whether the video recording "conveys the president's words in an authentic way" has been assigned to the Central Investigating Department.

Orders have been given as to the delivery of the original video record, the sound track and the video camera with which the episode was shot, the Prosecuting Magistracy announced.

The students, whose strike continues, insist on carrying out an investigation of the video recording and on making the expert opinion public.

Alternative Socialist Faction Conference Opens

AU2306133790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 23 Jun 90

[Text] The third national conference of the Alternative Socialist Association [ASO], a faction of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], opened in Sofia today with many issues set to be discussed. The conference has to define the association's political strategy. As our reporter Elena Shtereva told us, the first question raised in the Universiada Hall, where the conference is being held, was when the BSP's congress should take place. A referendum was organized on this issue, and the results of this will be made known before the end of the conference.

In his introductory remarks, Prof. Ivan Nikolov, chairman of the Operating Council of ASO, put forward several further issues of importance for the association: Has ASO exhausted its role as a faction, and should it leave the political scene? Or should it take up the

dramatic struggle of politically mature people against the well-lubricated party machine? The members of ASO, said Prof. Ivan Nikolov, must also answer what they are putting into this battle and what they expect from it. However, ASO faces not the question of staying in the BSP or leaving it, but rather the issue of how the association is to be a social force with equal rights in the specific situation.

After adopting the agenda, the conference continued with the political report as presented by Valentin Vachev, member of the ASO Operating Council. He drew attention to the meaning and cost of the BSP's election victory, the importance of ASO's election campaign, and the need for ASO to apply itself to its really important tasks, namely the complete de-Bolshevization of the BSP, the final release from stagnation, and its conversion into a modern left party of the European social democratic type.

The conference is continuing with the discussion of draft documents, and also has to elect new governing organs.

Founding of New 'Communist Party' Discussed

AU2406190690 Sofia BTA in English 1757 GMT 24 Jun 90

["Will There Be a Communist Party Soon?"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 24 Jun (BTA)—According to announcements stuck up at several places in Sofia, a Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] was supposed to be founded today.

Several elderly men gathered. According to Eng. Ivan Semov, initiator of the founding, there are many members of the former Communist Party in Sofia who would like to restore it. It is simply a matter of time and organization. Their idea originated before the elections, but they did not want to hamper the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] success in the elections.

"Now we have the right to say we want a Communist Party," Semov says.

It is quite clear that the idea about the BCP comes from below. It was recently announced that there are organizations of the Communist Party in Oryakhovo and elsewhere.

Youths Form Anarchist Organization in Sofia

AU2306133490 Sofia BTA in English 1158 GMT 23 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 23 Jun (BTA)—Today some youths founded an anarchists organization. They called it the Federation of Anarchic Youth.

The declared themselves followers of the anarcho-syndicalist movement in Bulgaria, which arose in 1900 and embraced most of the large industrial cities. They were told about it by older anarchists who after their last conference in 1953 were arrested and sent to camps. According to them the anarchists-syndicalist movement competed with Communists and they were always afraid of them.

The young anarchists declared that they will follow the ideas of Prudon, Bakunin and Kuprinov.

Finance Minister Discusses Foreign Investments

AU2406150990 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 20 Jun 90 p 3

[Interview with Finance Minister Belcho Belchev by Krasimira Mavrodinova; place and date not given: "Not Only Money, but Also Experience"; first three paragraphs are TRUD introduction]

[Text] We paid a visit to Minister of Finance Belcho Belchev, who briefed us about promising British investments and banking technologies.

Mr. Jaques Delal, leader of a British delegation of businessmen and chairman of Allied Commercial Exporters Ltd., reportedly summed up the results of his visit to Bulgaria in the following words: "We are opening a commercial bank with the intention of investing in Bulgaria."

This means that Great Britain is offering its assistance to our country not as an act of charity, but rather as an expression of business interest in our country and a desire for advantageous cooperation. This approach to our mutual relations also determines the sectors of interest involved, such as agriculture, tourism, electronics, chemicals, and pharmaceuticals. Cooperation is about to start with the forthcoming opening of a commercial bank which is expected to finance various projects, regardless of the terms of ownership.

[Mavrodinova] Comrade Belchev, did the British delegation express any preferences for private ownership?

[Belchev] Banks are not guided by personal preferences. Their interests prompt them to finance any project whose profitability has been confirmed.

[Mavrodinova] What are the bank's operational possibilities expected to be?

[Belchev] An effective capital minimum should amount to approximately $20 million.

[Mavrodinova] What is each side contributing?

[Belchev] Let us understand each other clearly. We are talking about a foreign bank which is opening a branch in our country. This branch can operate independently in Bulgaria, or coordinate a partnership with some of our existing trade banks. This should be clarified in specific negotiations. Personally, I expect the bank to be mixed, but I do not exclude any other solution.

[Mavrodinova] Which form is more profitable?.

[Belchev] Both forms are effective. Nevertheless, there is a more important advantage, namely the opportunity for the introduction of modern technologies and know-how in the Bulgarian banking system. We have long since learned that success in business not only depends on money, but also on management experience.

Deputy Trade Minister: Rationing 'Temporary'

AU2406153190 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 20 Jun 90 p 2

[Ekaterina Popova report : "Food Ration Cards Are Temporary Measure"]

[Text] "It is true that decisions have been taken in individual municipalities to introduce food ration cards for certain products in short supply, mainly sugar and detergents. However, this does not relate to a classic rationing system, but to temporary controls on the sale of goods in short supply. The aim is to prevent mass hoarding by the population and to ensure the necessary amounts for the socially underprivileged and for the processing industry," said Velichko Velichkov, first deputy minister of trade and services, in commenting on the decision by Varna Municipal People's Council to introduce coupons for sugar and washing detergent as of 1 July.

He explained that the Ministry of Trade and Services will not instruct the local authorities to change over to such a system of control, but gives them the right to independently assess the need for such measures, in relation to the state of the commodity funds. This possibility is also provided by Council of Ministers Order No. 28 of 4 June on limiting speculative dealing in consumer goods by private individuals. With regard to the private companies which buy products from the trading network for their own production, they will be able to get supplies only from specific stores.

Checks completed by the Committee for State and People's Control during May also proved the need for introducing restrictions. Inspections were carried out in 64 municipalities and covered 3,949 premises. As a result, 1,174 reports were compiled.

According to the announcement of the Ministry of Trade and Services, the controls on sales are only temporary. Supplies of sugar both for the commodity fund and for industry will return to normal at the end of July or beginning of August. Contracts have already been signed for the import of 12,000 tonnes of sugar from Poland, 23,000 tonnes of raw sugar from Thailand, and 12,500 tonnes of white sugar from France. Sugar deliveries are expected to resume from Cuba.

The present flour shortage is caused by purely subjective reasons, because technically there should be sufficient quantities. At the moment, a ship with a cargo of Thai rice is being unloaded, and this rice will appear in the shops next week.

Todor Zhivkov Investigation Progress Reported

AU2206140590 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 21 Jun 90 p 1

[Violeta Simeonova and Evgeni Ivanov report: "Investigation Against Todor Zhivkov Expected To End Within A Month"]

[Text] No pressure has been exerted on the investigating judges and public prosecutors who are dealing with Todor Zhivkov's case. The legal time limit for the conclusion of the investigation concludes within the next month. Everything is proceeding according to schedule, Spas Muletarov, chief prosecutor of the republic, announced yesterday.

The individual expert examinations are being conducted continuously. Approximately 400 witnesses have been questioned. Seven prosecutors and a number of investigators are working on the investigation. An application for releasing Todor Zhivkov on bail has been submitted by his relatives, but the Supreme Court has not made a ruling on it. Zhivkov was permitted to meet Evgenia and Vladimir Zhivkov on several occasions.

The defendant is always questioned in his own sickroom. The statements that he has refused to engage a lawyer are not true. Spas Muletarov reported that Zhivkov is answering questions only in the presence of his lawyer.

The possibility that the trials against Todor Zhivkov and Milko Balev might take place at the same time is not to be excluded. The official Swiss authorities were approached a long time ago in connection with the return of Todor Ivanov Slavkov to Bulgaria. The deputy chief prosecutor of the republic announced that unfortunately no conventions guaranteeing such cases have been signed between the two states.

Unless the Grand National Assembly decides differently, Todor Zhivkov's trial should proceed according to currently valid laws. The precedent of trials against the regents, the prime minister, and other state leaders, immediately following 9 September 1944, was based on a special law about specific responsibility.

Spas Muletarov confirms the fact that Todor Zhivkov has been briefed on the election results. His reaction is not known.

EC Agricultural Official Promises Aid in Autumn

AU2406182390 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 20 Jun 90 p 1

[Petur Gornenski report: "Bulgaria May Expect Aid From the 24 in the Autumn"]

[Text] We might expect that the aid program for Bulgaria of the Group of 24 can begin to be implemented in the autumn, said Mark Franko, counselor at the EC Commission on Agricultural Affairs within the framework of the PHARE program. This program, which provides financial aid for Poland and Hungary, was expanded to

include five additional countries—Bulgaria, the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Romania. Last March, we had a visit from an EC delegation which is acting as coordinator for the 24 in relation to the PHARE program, which came to acquaint itself on the spot with specific aid projects in different fields of our economy.

According to Mark Franko, who is visiting Sofia with Mr. Jean Abel, another EC expert, the expectations of a positive decision on aid for Bulgaria under the PHARE program arise because the political orientation of the program was expanded to include other countries in Central and East Europe, and because of the real possibility for providing the necessary money for such aid, on which actual work has already begun. Last, but not least, is the fact that there are no major legal problems in allocating this aid, as soon as the EC and Group of 24 have taken the political and budget decisions on it.

During my talks in Sofia, I was glad to find that the Bulgarian specialists were able to make precise suggestions on the best areas toward which the aid program should be directed in agriculture, said Mark Franko, as well as to establish that the projects are fully coordinated with Bulgaria's overall reform program.

Economic Talks With Cuba Held in Havana

AU2206200790 Sofia BTA in English 1846 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Havana, 22 Jun (BTA correspondent)—Trade and economic talks were opened here today between Bulgaria and Cuba. The talks are held by Mr Petur Bashikarov, minister of foreign economic relations of Bulgaria, and Mr Ricardo Cabrisas Ruiz, minister of foreign trade of Cuba. In statements made before the correspondent of the BTA the two ministers outlined the main groups of problems they are going to discuss: The fulfillment of the 1990 protocol on trade, its possible restructuring, considering and working out the scheme and the mechanisms of the two countries' cooperation in the period after January 1, 1991, the switch to currency clearing included, and a number of other problems arising in connection with the new conditions created by the decisions of the 45th Session of the CMEA and the changes in economic relations. And last, but not least, the problem with the deliveries of Cuban sugar.

Asked by the BTA correspondent if the deliveries were not stopped as a reaction to the vote in Geneva, the Cuban minister said that Cuba's policy with regard to Bulgaria has never had repressive character. The minister confirmed that the deliveries would go on, although it could hardly be expected to make up for the delay occurred in the first half of the year.

Foreign Passports Issued to Over 500,000

AU2306141390 Sofia BTA in English 1341 GMT 23 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 23 Jun (BTA)—Up to May 1, 1990, as many as 540,804 Bulgarians have sought the services of the "Travel Passports" Department at the Ministry of Internal Affairs. 10,000 are still expecting a positive reply. 250,000 have been refused passports as the computers have shown that they have already been issued passports.

Among the travel passports owners most numerous are employees—35 [percent] and workers, 31. Students are 13, unemployed 12 and pensioners 9.

People with higher education are 24 [percent], of whom 15 have some scientific degree or have done postgraduate work.

From the beginning of the year till June 10 1,017,516 Bulgarians have crossed the Bulgarian border checkpoints and 973,411 have crossed them back, according to information.

It is known that out of the 44,105 people who have not returned to Bulgaria 1,600 have declared themselves refugees in Canada. Most of them are young people. Over 20 are people of art. They are accommodated in hotels and private dwellings in the capital of Newfoundland, St. Johns, and its environs, says the Bulgarian consul in Toronto, Valeri Yanakiev.

USSR Parliamentarians Discuss Troop Withdrawal

LD2506084390 Prague CTK in English 0801 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 25 (CTK)—A press conference with a group of Soviet parliamentarians, currently in Czechoslovakia for talks on the departure of Soviet troops, will be held at the Soviet embassy here at 14.00 GMT today, the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry Press Department announced today.

Havel Condemns Sentencing of Cuban Opposition

LD2206170790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] President of the Republic Vaclav Havel has sent to Fidel Castro, president of the Republic of Cuba, the following letter:

Mr. President, I was sorry to hear that the court in Havana gave long custodial sentences yesterday to seven representatives of the opposition. Their only crime was that they demanded that Cuba be launched on the path toward pluralism, democracy, and a market economy; that is, on the path which is followed today by all former totalitarian countries of Central and East Europe.

Mr. President, I firmly protest the decision of Cuban justice, which I see as another step by your country toward the darkest past, as a gross violation of basic human rights, and as an insult to the civilized world. I therefore request that you ask for an immediate release of all those unjustly condemned.

VPN Proposes Dubcek as Assembly Chairman

LD2506140490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1330 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] As Deputy Petr Kucera said, speaking at a news conference in our parliament building in Prague today, the Public Against Violence proposes Alexander Dubcek as candidate for the post of chairman of the Federal Assembly. It also has the support of Civic Forum. Civic Forum proposes Zdenek Jicinsky for the post of first deputy chairman of parliament.

Havel, Calfa Comment on New Government Structure

LD2206212390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Presidential spokesman Michal Zantovsky briefed journalists on the final communique of the talks on the composition of the new federal government. It says that representatives of the Christian Democratic Moviment, Public Against Violence, the Civic Forum, and the Democratic Party have reached a principled agreement on the composition of a new federal government. The current federal government will resign on 27 June, and on the very same day, at 2000, a new government will be appointed at Prague Castle. President Vaclav Havel then addressed all those present, and said, among other things:

[Begin Havel recording] The premier will address the Federal Assembly with a program statement. Prior to that, I will address parliament and communicate to them my deliberations about the future of our state, and on the tasks of this, the first free Federal Assembly after many decades. I will also explain briefly why I appointed the government that I will have appointed, and the criteria according to which it was being composed. I will explain the ideas to be submitted to parliament on the principles for basic restructuring of this government, so that it corresponds to the needs of these times. [end recording] The designated premier, Marian Calfa, supplemented the communique with further information.

[Begin Calfa recording, in Slovak] It would appear that the federal government will have a premier, four deputy premiers, and the remaining ministers—altogether, there should be 17 members of the government. Today's deliberations have a certain symbolic value, inasmuch as the federal government contains, literally, two political movements from Slovakia, and the Civic Forum is also represented. We have not yet finalized two places—not because we have not agreed on who should occupy them; rather, what is involved is simply personnel and the selection of the best people for the posts in which they will perform. [end recording]

Federal Government Composition Talks Reported

LD2206204790 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] [Announcer] Talks about the final composition of the new federal government were held in Bratis'ava this morning. Editor (Bohus Geci) reports in more detail:

[(Geci)] Talks were held at the Christian Democratic Movement's headquarters building because the major topic of discussion was the participation of its members in the federal government. Talks began shortly after 1000 and were attended by President of the Republic Vaclav Havel; Premier Marian Calfa; Vladimir Meciar, minister of the Slovak Government who is in charge of forming the new government; Jan Carnogursky, chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement, Democratic Party—coalition partner of the Christian Democratic Movement—as well as other personalities from the Civic Forum, Christian Democratic Movement, Public Against Violence, and the federal government.

After over two hours the doors of the hall where the talks had been held were opened for us journalists. First of all, we heard a brief assessment from President of the Republic Vaclav Havel.

[Begin Havel recording, in Czech] In my view, all the participants in the talks are aware of the responsibility facing them, aware of the significance of the federal government's role in the upcoming difficult period, and aware of their obligation to take part in what we call a new building of our state. [end recording]

[(Geci)] The president went on to ask both the citizens and us journalists to be patient as the specific names will be announced on 27 June.

Nevertheless, despite the president's plea, I asked Premier Marian Calfa to give us more detailed information, if possible.

[Begin Calfa recording] It seems that the federal government is to have its premier and four deputy premiers as well as other ministers. Altogether, the government is to have 17 members. We still do not have two ministerial posts fixed—not because we would not have reached an agreement about these appointments, but the issue is only who to appoint, to choose the best people to appoint to specific posts. Perhaps some ministries will merge, some ministries on the federal level will be abolished, and their agenda will be transfered to ministries of the republics. We also substantially reduced a number of the government's deputy premiers. [end recording]

[(Geci)] Another person I stopped after the end of talks on coalition or coalitions of the federal government was Mr. Ivan Carnogursky [leading representative of the Christian Democratic Movement and brother of Premier Jan Carnogurskiy]. What was the substance of the talks here?

[Begin recording] [Ivan Carnogursky] Since the beginning we have followed one guideline: to really create such conditions for the development of Slovakia which would be as much as possible in harmony with what is given by the present Slovakia's human, production, and international potential. It has been our intention to convince the coalition partners and above all the federal government partners, showing them that if Slovakia is strong, Czechoslovakia is also strong. During today's talks they accepted this concept of ours. In fact, thanks to the adoption of this concept we reached an agreement and consequently promised each other to build a strong Slovakia first of all, and through this strong Slovakia also a strong international authority of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic.

[(Geci)] A question of the formation of the government of the Slovak Republic was not so difficult, was it?

[I. Carnogursky] Since the beginning we have held a program view of the issue. We knew that we intended to tackle certain interrelated problems. On principle we intend first of all to tackle privatization, switching to a market economy, above all in its broadest sphere most open to the people. We also intend to tackle agriculture as we are aware of the need to do so.

[(Geci)] How many ministerial posts did each individual party get in the government of the Slovak Republic, the numbers?

[I. Carnogursky] The numbers are not a secret. Public Against Violence will have 12 ministerial posts. I think the Christian Democratic Movement will have 8 ministerial posts, and the Democratic Party will have 3 ministerial posts.

[(Geci)] Certain rather lengthy, and I think difficult, talks between the Christian Democratic Movement and Public Against Violence and Democratic Party regarding the post of premier anjd minister of the interior were a topic followed by people with great attention. Were there any conflicts on this issue? Did you reach agreement rather quickly?

[I. Carnogursky] We reached an agreement.

[(Geci)] Do you want to say that it was not easy?

[I. Carnogursky] It is relative what is easy or not. [end recording]

Havel Comments on Forming New Government

LD2406145890

[Editorial Report] Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 1215 GMT on 24 June broadcasts a 27-minute live or recorded interview with CSFR President Vaclav Havel by "Conversations with Lany" program editor Nutz. The place of the interview is not specified.

Nutz opens his interview with President Havel with a question about Havel's Bratislava talks on forming a new federal government. Havel expresses his satisfaction with regard to achieving an agreement on forming the new government, which will be announced on 27 June. Havel goes on to stress the importance of achieving a type of coalition between the civic movements which won the elections—Civic Forum and Public Against Violence—on the one hand and the Christian Democratic Movement in Slovakia on the other. Havel assesses the Christian Democrats, both as the party in Bohemia, or the Christian Democratic Movement in Slovakia, as an important movement. In his view they will become a significant political force in a new Czechoslovakia.

Asked how he feels about the outgoing Government of National Accord, Havel speaks about his admiration for it and says he will thank it for its work at the gala dinner on 25 June. Havel points out that some of its members, including Premier Calfa, will be included in the new government, therefore a sort of continuity will be preserved.

Havel is asked what he thinks about a certain criticism of accommodation and health care privileges for government members, as was voiced among others by CTK editors. Havel explains that it is not a question of creating a new nobility but more a question of creating appropriate conditions for efficient work by government members, as is normal throughout the world. The important thing is to do it openly in order to avoid public suspicion. Nutz points out the Czechoslovak public's sensitivity regarding this issue because of the abuse of power by government and party officials in the past. Havel speaks about the need for some special services, as for instance the state air fleet, but stresses that care is taken to make efficient use of them and to have their use open to public scrutiny.

Nutz recalls Kissinger's lecture in Prague last week and asks about the Havel-Kissinger talks. Havel points out the importance of having an opportunity to compare their views about the future security system in Europe, East Europe especially. Havel notes that on the basis of these discussions, Kissinger even changed some of his views, saying that he would now change the wording in some parts of his recent Newsweek article.

Speaking about his letter to Castro in which he protested against the imprisonment of Cuban dissidents, Havel says he felt it to be his moral duty to protest and stressed that to care about human rights is definitely not an intervention in the internal affairs of other countries.

Nutz recalled the first anniversary of the "A Few Sentences" petition, which was signed by over 30,000 Czechoslovak citizens. Havel points out that the most important element was the then involvement of the people who before had been too scared to publicly voice their disagreements with the former Communist regime. In his view the petition, organized by him, Krizan, and Vondra, has given an impulse to the whole process which consequently led to the November events.

Asked how he feels about the present government being called a rule of dreamers, Havel says that currently we have become more or less aware of the limits of purely scientific and technological knowledge, aware of the fact that not everything can be planned or foreseen. There is a need to feel humility and respect before the mysterious order of nature. There is a great role for fantasy and intuition here. Havel points out that it is not reasonable to rely only on cold political calculations and recalls how journalists interviewing him during his dissident years doubted if anything could be changed in Czechoslovakia, speaking about the presumed passivity of the people in Czechoslovakia. Events show these rational calculations to be wrong.

Calfa on Government's Past, Future

AU2206144090 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 7 Jun 90 p 3

["Excerpt" of speech by CSFR Premier Marian Calfa at a meeting of East Slovak Ironworks employees in Kosice on 5 June: "We All Have Just One Future"]

[Text] In a few day you will all go to the polling booths in order to select those who are to lead us on our road ahead. Many candidates are telling you what they will do if you vote for them. I, on the other hand, want to tell you briefly what the government of national consensus, which I chair, has done for prosperity and democracy in our country.

In November and December of last year, we promised to embark on the path of a dignified life without falsehood or fear. Looking today at the events of the past half year, we can say without exaggeration: Such rapid progress of history is a rare feat. The dreams of entire generations of the best sons of the Slovak and Czech nations are becoming an everyday reality. And the government of national consensus has borne a good share of this joint achievement of ours.

Tolerance is the Banner of Democracy

Our society can claim a lot of success during the past months. Not everything, however, elicits a feeling of satisfaction. The growth of criminality or even the appearance of racial attacks, which are absolutely unacceptable in our culture, make every responsible person uneasy. We are learning to face the diseases of civilization on the level of advanced democracies and to cultivate in people an active civic attitude. As we march along a new security corps will emerge and deal with a number of previosly unknown problems—if it is to become a support to the new order, it must have our trust. We must boost the prestige of all law protecting bodies and reinforce their personnel and technology, so they will be able to fully ensure the protection of the public order, property, and the citizens' health. Allow me one more observation on the development of our democracy which is especially important today at the peak of the election campaign. Let us not succumb to any stratification of society according to views of the people. The reason we longed for democracy was to preclude any division into politically privileged and politically deprived citizens. In this state, we all have just one future. It is just, however, and unavoidable that all offenders against the law be punished. Democracy is not a punishment, democracy is a chance for everybody. An enduring democracy cannot be built on intolerance. Tolerance is the banner of democracy. We do not wish to discourage anybody who seeks reconciliation and compromise on democratic principles. Our ranks must be augmented, there are many tasks to do.

Government Cut the Gordian Knot

And do not trust anybody who would tell you that the tasks ahead of us are easy. It was not easy to fulfill the obligations involved in the preparation of free elections. The transformation of the economy, however, from bureaucratic centralism to a market economy will be much harder. The government of national consensus has cut the Gordian knot of the inherited economic problems: It drafted a concept for radical economic reform and it took the first fundamental steps in the new direction. Some twenty draft laws in the economic and social spheres emerged from the government debates. These legislative steps are, however, only the beginning of a meandering road for which we do not have a reliable map or compass—no model exists for the transition from a fully nationalized economy to world market conditions.

As distinct from the single legislative acts that returned freedom to the political stage and on which we all agreed, the transition to a market economy is a complex process. The clarification of this process has taken a lot of time in the government. It was a time of great debates, opinions, and clashes, but it was unavoidable to spend some time in this

manner in order to bring differing standpoints into harmony. Nonetheless, the discussions and exchanges of opinions persist. At this time, we have a schedule drawn up. It divides our progress into several stages. We expect the decisive measures to be taken by the beginning of next year, at the latest. The reform should be completed approximately by 1993—although one must realize that we will have to modify its content according to the changing internal and external conditions.

Package of Fundamental Steps

The economic reform consists of an entire package of fundamental steps aimed at encouraging modern and efficient production. Their common denominator is the effort to restore the economic balance and dynamism. This task will require, first of all, a strict monetary and fiscal policy. Namely, we must not allow our economists and entrepreneurs to lose their orientation in the whirlwind of inflation. We cannot permit the savings of our workers to be devalued or allow more money to be in circulation than there are goods in the stores or services offered.

During the reform all forms of ownership will become truly equal. On the one hand, the sphere of activity for legal private enterprise is opening up, while on the other the detachment of state enterprises from directive state management by means of forming joint-stock companies and transferring them to market economic conditions is being prepared. We are considering freeing prices as of the beginning of next year. This is the most sensitive issue and, I must add openly, perhaps also the most controversial problem of the entire reform. Within the framework of preparations for this step, the Government of National Consensus has begun with the removal of the great price deformations by imposing limits on subsidies for public transport and by approving increases in food prices combined with a state compensation allowance. We were concerned here neither with a bookkeeping exercise to simplify the work of the financial experts nor with making a profit for the state treasury. We are gradually applying economic pressure to the food producers. We want the consumer, by adjusting his demand, to force farmers and food producers to greater economy and compel them to enrich our market to a much larger extent with quality products, healthy food. By this I do not mean to say that the work of our farmers is bad. Quite the contrary, they are still among the stabilizing factors in our country and we must also help the farmers by removing price deformations, for instance, by bringing procurement prices into harmony with the movement of prices of agricultural machinery and the whole range of products and materials that our farmers need for their work.

We have begun to enforce a new structural policy which is based on the principle that the state will involve itself only with the programs for cutbacks or promotions enforced by means of selected economic instruments rather than with the aid of a directive plan. Among the cutback programs is the limitation of the uranium mining and of the processing of other ores, but also the conversion of the armament industry, which is such a complex matter for Slovakia. Tremendous effort is concentrated on clarification of state policy in the sphere of the production and consumption of energy. We must protect our environment against the acid rain produced by the burning of lignite but also against the danger hidden in the nuclear core. Therefore, we are reassessing the nuclear program to ensure that nuclear power plants are not under any circumstances built in such unsuitable locations as, for instance, Kecerovce.

Some measures concern incorporation in the world economy. The removal of the monopoly in foreign trade has begun and the positions of foreign entrepreneurs in our market are being equalized. We are preparing conditions for the introduction of the internal convertibility of the koruna. This means basically that the companies and later also citizens will be able to purchase convertible currency for korunas at a price depending on supply and demand. As of 1991 our relations with the CEMA countries will be transferred to a market basis. All these tasks are also reflected in the reorganization of the state administration and establishment of institutions typical of a market economy, such as a board of trade, commercial court [obchodny sud], or stock market.

About Social Security

The entire reform is prepared so as to avoid inasmuch as possible a combination of dangers like the growth of debts and unemployment, stagnation, or inflation. We have done, and are doing, everything possible to make the supply of company and bank capital from abroad stimulate the production of goods that are also marketable abroad and do not end up immediately in the shopping basket. We must not allow this money to be frittered away so we grow big bellies and our children end up with big debts.

The Government of National Consensus has dealt with significant problems in the sphere of employment. A market economy as well as the government programs for cutbacks or promotion will establish a labor market in which not everybody will find a place, not immediately, and not at the location he would like. Without doubt, this will be the most radical interference with the people's lifestyle. It will change the customary notion of social security. Therefore, already, the state, as the most powerful institution in society, must assume the protection of the socially weakest citizens. We are developing labor offices to guarantee a flexible, economically efficient system, corresponding to humane principles, for coordinating movements in the labor force. These offices will help people to find work, provide retraining, and administer a fund for community work. Social legislation to guarantee the purchasing power of pensions and protect families with small children and young people beginning life is being prepared.

The Government of National Consensus has had no other objective than to preserve the quality of life of our country's people. Even today, I firmly believe that it is

not enough to call for enrichment of an individual's spiritual life on the basis of his faith. The education of a moral person also requires that he be provided with the appropriate social environment. For a dignified life, the moral and modern person needs faith, but he also needs suitable conditions for his work, freedom, and enterprise, and an economically secure family. I speak of this because faith and religious belief are matters that are too serious to become the subject of political campaigns.

Great problems await us in the social sphere, but we have prepared the ground for dealing with them so as to make them only temporary and manageable. Our goal is to guarantee in this way, under the new conditions, a dignified life for everybody who is willing to work. After the initial mutual search, the government has been consulting with the trade union confederations on its decisions, not only to ensure that they are well informed but also to protect the workers' interests. We do not understand the transition to a market economy as a return to the 19th century. What we want is a modern, socially- orientated market economy combined with an unequivocal ecological program. Only then will our country be an attractive partner for other advanced countries of the world.

International Activity

The Government of National Consensus has been very active in the field of international relations. We have made an attempt to transform the great credit which our country acquired following the November events into a network of bonds connecting us with the most advanced democratic countries in the world. We will never again be separated from the democratic countries of the world by an iron curtain. Each of you has noted in the daily press how the rich calendar of foreign visits has transformed into dozens of agreements in the spheres of politics, the economy, education, science, and culture. Hundreds of our students will enter educational institutions abroad. We have impressed a new orientation on foreign policy, characterized by our initiative to establish a European security commission. A new defensive military doctrine is being intensively prepared. We are protecting the interests of the state, and the agreement on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from our territory is an expression of this. We have applied for our membership in the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank to be reinstated and we have taken an active part in establishing the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. We spare no effort in our efforts to foster the closest possible cooperation with the EC, and our proposals are being accepted with appreciation. At the same time, we act in such a way that no one can say that we do not meet the obligations our country has accepted.

In this respect, I wish to draw your attention to one extraordinarily significant fact. Europe, as well as the world, considers the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic as one partner state. We had the opportunity to confirm this fact abroad as well as during the visits of foreign dignitaries to Czechoslovakia. Our beautiful homeland is a single body, a single organism, which can only function as a single entity.

Yes, it is necessary to honor national sovereignty unequivocally; it is imperative that we reexamine and modernize the division of responsibilities between the federation and the republics. While working in the federal government, we have come to recognize the strength of the mutual bond which has developed between us, all Slovaks and Czechs as well as members of the other ethnic groups, in the economy, transport, and culture, in social as well as in spiritual life during the 70 years of our coexistence. Undoubtedly, we have experienced our heyday during this coexistence. I hope very much that it will endure forever and that it will develop further on the basis of equality and on the principle of the federative arrangement of the state.

It is easier to promise than to perform. It is simpler already because deeds rather than words attract the public's critical attention. Nevertheless, I think that when submitting in the next days the agenda of the Government of National Consensus to the merciless criticism of historians, nobody will doubt that we have kept our promise of last December. And I believe that even the most demanding critic will have to admit that in our work we have not betrayed the ideals of the November days. We have judged our every action by exacting moral criteria and we have always proceeded openly, with only one intention in mind: to secure for our people a dignified life in a democratic and prosperous society. In the elections all the people of this country—that also means all of you—will evaluate how well we have succeeded.

Government Meets for Last Working Session

LD2106150890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1330 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Text] The government of national understanding met for its last working session in Prague today. Chaired by [Premier] Marian Calfa, it adopted a proposal to change and amend the 1971 law on the protection of state secrets and abolished, or rather amended, the appropriate decisions of the government.

The next important legislative initiative of the government was the passing of the draft bill on the amendment of some property relations of holy orders and congregations and of the Olomouo archbishopric. The government has called on former proprietors and real estate holders to open talks on returning them to their original owners. This does not include buildings, fields, and forests used for economic purposes.

The Federal Government today also voiced its consent to the talks between the governments of Czechoslovakia and the Federal Republic of Germany concerning the abolition of the visa duty. The agreement will be concluded by exchanging notes between the two ministers of foreign affairs, and the decision will thus come into force

on 1 July. Our citizens who hold valid travel documents and do not intend to stay in the FRG longer than three months or to engage in gainful employment there can travel and stay there without a visa. Visas and working permits will still be required in case of trips for the purpose of gainful employment. Transit to the territory of a third state is visa free. This also applies to West Berlin. Our citizens will only need a valid passport for their trip. It will therefore not be possible to travel to the FRG only with an identity card, as was mistakenly published by the press.

The Federal Government has also decided to build a large-capacity border crossing between the villages of Rozvadov and Waidhaus on the future Prague-Nuernberg motorway. Other new border crossings, some of them for pedestrians only, will also be opened. We will have further details on today's session of the Federal Government in the main news bulletin at 1830 [1630 GMT] on Prague radio.

Interview With Candidate for Federal President

LD2106152590

[Editorial Report] Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak at 1000 GMT on 21 June broadcasts a six-minute "exclusive interview" with Jolana Ambruzova, candidate for president in the coming elections and head of the workers cafeteria at the Filakovo state farm, by editor Zuzana Stukovska.

The program begins with Stukovska describing Ambruzova's candidacy as courageous. To which Ambruzova replies: Perhaps I have enough courage otherwise I would not have undertaken this task. Stukovska asks whether Ambruzova fears the word 'screening' and Ambruzova replies that she was screened as a candidate for the election. I know that I passed the screening, she replies. My conscience is clear: I have never had any contacts with any political party or with the State Security.

Stukovska then asks: I know that you were a candidate for the Freedom Party but that you were put forward as a presidential candidate by the Independent Party of Slovaks. To this Ambruzova replies: I am a member of the independent Party of Slovaks. With regard to the fact that we are very small and a new party, we decided to go into the elections on the election list of another party. By coincidence it was the Freedom Party.

Replying to the question of what, taking into account the said circumstances, was the purpose of her seeking presidential office, Ambruzova says the purpose of her action was to present an alternative to Havel's candidature.

Stukovska then goes on to point out briefly the content of the interview Ambruzova granted to the weekly SMENA. Ambruzova notes that the Independent Party of Slovaks does not intend to destroy what is good in Czechoslovakia. However, at the same time I stand for a strong economy of Slovakia, Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia. By means of political tolerance, I would like to achieve a broad dialogue through mutual understanding and through wise compromise, so that the Slovak people together with the Czech people and the ethnic minorities living in this state, can proudly enter Europe.

Ambruzova goes on to say that she has never met President Havel and this greatly upsets her. She notes that she has little chance of becoming president. However, if she does succeed she would be the only person who is actually aware of the problems of ordinary working people. The conversation then focusses on Ambruzova's horoscope. In conclusion Ambruzova calls on mass media to behave in a decent, objective, and tolerant manner in this so-called campaign.

Democratic Party Confers on Elections

LD2306175290 Prague CTK in English 1601 GMT 23 Jun 90

[Text] Bratislava June 23 (CTK)—A two-day session of the Democratic Party Central Committee, which ended in Banska Bystrica, Central Slovakia, today, dealt with the results of the elections to the legislative bodies and preparation for the communal elections to national committees.

Chairman of the Democratic Party Martin Kvetko told CTK that the Democratic Party, which wants to be a centre party, has its mission in the Slovak society. It wants to associate all positive groups which are interested in the building of an intensive economic system, he said and expressed his belief that the democratic party will be represented in the Slovak government.

The party won 4,39 per cent of votes and gained 7 seats in the Slovak National Council.

Republic Party Head: Elections 'Not Democratic'

LD2206224390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1400 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Dr. Miroslav Sladek, chairman of the Association for Republic- Republican Party of Czechoslovakia (Sdruzeni pro Republiku - Republikanska Strana Ceskoslovenska) repeated at today's press conference his assertion that the elections were not democratic.

He admitted that the elections could be called free but was critical of slogans such as: Who does not vote for Civic Forum votes for communists and also of the terminology used by President Vaclav Havel. He also described as a sort of fraud the attraction of votes by putting forward well known personalities.

The Association for Republic wants to concentrate now on young people. According to Dr. Sladek, it has many thousands of members among whom are 20 to 30 skinheads. After the election it plans to create an opposition outside the parliament.

On the current talks about the composition of the Federal Government, Miroslav Sladek said that Premier

Marian Calfa and other officials are not able to put together a correct government, govern the country, and lead it out of the crisis.

He also described as immoral the behavior of our current representatives who criticized the former top officials for abusing their position, but who soon took over their government stores, health care, expensive dinners, and service cars.

Conflict in Socialist Party Escalates

AU2306201590 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 19 Jun 90 p 1

["r"-signed report: "They Want Keys From the MELANTRICH Publishing House"]

[Text] Yesterday [18 June] late in the afternoon, leading representatives of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party [CSS]—among them Central Secretary S. Kliment, Deputy Chairman J. Skoda, and government ministers L. Dvorak and R. Kutnar—came to the editorial office of SVOBODNE SLOVO (MELANTRICH publishing house) to tell the staff that MELANTRICH Director M. Nevole and SVOBODNE SLOVO Chief Editor L. Petrik had been recalled from the management of the enterprise and the editorial office with immediate effect. The director is to be replaced by R. Kutnar (the current minister of agriculture and food of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic) and control of the daily is to be taken over by the so-called editorial council, established and installed by a decision of the CSS Presidium. The spontaneous discussion which followed showed that these cadre changes, imposed by command, were made for reasons of the insufficient assertion of the party's policy in the periodical press of the MELANTRICH publishing house. The stand of all staff journalists present was clearly negative; the only member of the editorial staff whom the Presidium appointed member of the so-called editorial council refused to be its member. It is remarkable that, according to information provided by representatives of the CSS yesterday, the analysis of the causes of the CSS's electoral defeat, for which MELANTRICH is being indirectly blamed, is still only being worked out. M. Nevole refused to hand over the keys of the office building without the presence of legal representatives. The absolute majority of MELANTRICH employees continue to back their director and the SVOBODNE SLOVO chief editor, whom they view as a guarantee of the freedom of the press.

Central Committee Group Elected

LD2206001990 Prague CTK in English 1752 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 21 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Socialist Party Central Committee decided at its yesterday's session to cancel the party Central Committee's Presidium's resolution about recalling director of the party's publishing house "Melantrich" Milan Nevole and editor-in-chief of the party's Daily SVOBODNE SLOVO Lubomir Petrik from their posts.

The Party Central Committee further stated in a resolution from its yesterday's session published by CTK only today, as it took place behind closed doors, that a new 13-member Central Committee Presidium was elected with Jiri Vyvadil as its chairman.

The Central Committee has ordered the Presidium to enter immediately into negotiations with Melantrich employees, to call a party Central Committee session for July 3, 1990 and work out principles of the transition to the system of the federal set-up of the party. The Socialist Party Central Committee wants to turn the Melantrich Publishing House into a joint-stock company.

Most of the editors of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party's daily SVOBODNE SLOVO are of the opinion that their fundamental demand, i.e. independence of the daily, freedom of expression and information has not been met sufficiently, a statement of the daily's employees said.

The editors consider establishment of a joint-stock company which would exclude any party influence on the contents and control of the daily as the optimum solution. "The response multiplying day by day has convinced us of the necessity to fulfil our duty and go on strike alert", the statement said.

Call for Chairman To Resign

LD2306174990 Prague CTK in English 1625 GMT 23 Jun 90

[Text] Bratislava June 23 (CTK)—The Slovak Committee of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party issued a statement at its extraordinary session here today, calling for the resignation of party chairman Jiri Vyvadil and of party Central Committee members.

They also demanded immediate inter-state discussion on the profile of the period and on the program for the forthcoming period, voiced agreement with the proposal to convene an extraordinary party congress and support for the effort of editors of the party daily SVOBODNE SLOVO at independence.

The Slovak Committee of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party entrusted the chairman with the convocation of an extraordinary conference of the Slovak party members on July 15, 1990.

The majority of the party members have been calling for the realization of these demands in the course of the past few weeks.

Social Democrats Vote Confidence in Leadership

LD2306023190 Prague CTK in English 1939 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 22 (CTK)—The Central Executive Committee of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party today expressed confidence in the party Presidium by a 62-2 vote. Eight members abstained.

The vote of confidence was taken as the party fared poorly in the June 8-9 elections in which it failed to win the necessary five percent of votes to get to both the federal and national parliaments.

The session decided by acclamation to end party membership of Rudolf Battek who criticized the party and its concrete policy several times before the elections. He was opposed to the party's withdrawal from the Civic Forum list in the elections, ran for it and was elected to the Federal Assembly for it.

It was noted that in spite of its decision to expel Rudolf Battek from Social Democracy's ranks, the party feels respect for his attitudes and personal courage in the years of totalitarianism (toppled by the November 1989 velvet revolution).

Appeal To Form Noncommunist Opposition

AU2406152690 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 20 Jun 90 p 4

[CTK report: "Appeal by the Green Party"]

[Text] Prague—On 18 June, the Prague Green Party Coordinating Center passed onto CTK an appeal proposing to form a democratic opposition spectrum. It contains the following:

The Prague Green Party Coordinating Center appeals to all political parties and movements not represented in the Federal Assembly to form a democratic opposition spectrum. They could use this platform to freely express their ideas on all topical problems concerning current developments. Thereby, the democratic opposition spectrum would create a model of a pluralistic system while, at the same time, substituting for the nonexistent noncommunist opposition in the parliament. Hence, it would not be a traditional unified opposition but a platform upon which the parties could present their standpoints and attitudes. The effectiveness of the democratic opposition spectrum would be reinforced by establishing a specialized daily, the pages of which would be available for an immediate reaction by the participating parties to all topical problems.

Sacher Makes Statement on Achievements

LD2206231690 Prague Television Service in Czech 2025 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Statement by outgoing Interior Minister Richard Sacher from the "Events and Comments" program—live or recorded]

[Text] Dear citizens, in a few hours' time the Government of National Understanding's term of office will expire. I have an inner feeling that I have understood the people, and that the people have understood me. I would like to express my gratitude for the several thousand warm letters of thanks from people in Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia.

I took on the very difficult task of interior minister not as a job but as a service to the nation, which I love, and as a mission. It has been confirmed that decency, justice, and abiding by one's principles accomplishes more than empty and risky radicalism, often motivated by vengeance and bordering on the illegal. The deafening quasi-criticism and statements by certain people, multiplied by certain sections of the press, were supposed to create the impression that this was the voice of the people. Some newspapers have not ceased to churn out lies, untruths, and half-truths.

My priority has been to discharge my duties rather than defend myself against personal attacks. I simply did not have time to reply to various articles, but if we have freedom of speech, then let the minister of the interior enjoy that freedom, too. I have said several times that I cannot envisage how the Ministry of the Interior can be run in a democratic society by people who, in the fifties, built the communist concentration camps or who, as high-ranking politicians, were the architects of totalitarianism. In short, I do not trust such people even though they may have been voted in at the elections, neither do I trust those who came through the hell of the fifties unscathed.

In six months, we have not managed to organize everything within the Ministry of the Interior's ambit in the way that I personally envisaged it. The power structures from the former totalitarian regime was systematically built up over 40 years, and I stress once again that there is a great deal to be done. However, I will congratulate from the bottom of my heart any minister of the interior of any country who manages, in six years, to implement as many fundamental changes as have been implemented in this country in six months—in a country which has gone through a coup d'etat without causing the bloodshed which took place and is still taking place in Romania.

I am often reproached for not immediately throwing everyone out of this sector as soon as I took up the post of interior minister. I spent weeks talking to people in the State Security headquarters and at the regional and district level, and many of them, in an effort to survive, were more than generous in the information they gave. In the Interior Ministry, the old saying that if you've seen it in black and white it must be true does not apply, because many things are true, but you won't find them in black and white, and if they were ever put down in black and white, the evidence has been destroyed. For example there have been many reports, all of them different, about General Lorenc [former deputy minister of the interior who was reputedly instrumental in conducting the police operation against the students' demonstration on 17 November 1989]. Some say he received a golden handshake of 100,000 korunas others say 80,000 or 40,000. General Lorenc did not receive a penny.

Last week, I also read in almost all the newspapers that I am now untenable as minister of the interior because I do not want to allow the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy out of the ambit of my ministry. If the authors of such statements had taken just

a little trouble to check the facts, they would have found that this idea was part of my concept for restructuring the Interior Ministry. Similarly, the intelligence service needs to be taken out of this Ministry's ambit and these institutions need to be made directly accountable to parliament, the government, and the president, and I stressed this also at a session of the State Defense Council just recently.

In keeping with the timetable of legislation it is right that these conceptual issues be decided not at the end of one term of office, but by the incoming parliament, a new government, and a new interior minister, so that he can voice and implement his own ideas about the Ministry's structure.

As I have already said, a number of fundamental changes have been made—suffice it to recall the measures on firearms and ammunition, the dissolution of the State Security units, the cancellation of the former agreement with the KGB, the establishment and development of meaningful cooperation with the interior ministries of Austria, Great Britain, and Italy, the humaneness shown in dealing with the riots in Leopoldov and Ruzyne [prisons], and the security operations for many state visits, including those of the Dalai Lama, the pope, and others. A whole series of measures have been taken to enable our people to travel abroad much more easily. A number of border crossings have been opened, we have gotten rid of the barbed wire at the borders, abolished the restricted border zones, and drawn up a series of additional legislation for discussion by the new government. I personally have exerted considerable effort to resolve humanitarian problems such as the return of the child Patricie (?Auschova) to Czechoslovakia.

The civic screening commissions have done a lot of work, but it must also be said that many of their decisions have been ill-informed and unjustified, and even based on mere presumption of guilt—in short, unfair and with no factual possibility of defense, and the large number of appeals is evidence of this. I have always considered it a morally dubious approach to seek to resolve problems from the principle of so-called collective guilt. When proposals have been put to me in the name of democracy but motivated by revenge, I have always rejected them.

I would like to wind up by voicing my sincere thanks to the whole security apparatus—commanders and rank-and-file officers—for the fact that in the very complicated period they have gone through, they discharged their duties despite being frequently misunderstood by the people. They did not allow the security structures to disintegrate and they did not abandon the country to the mercy of providence during this critical phase. I thank our border guards, Interior Ministry troops, passport and visa officials, immigration officers, transport police, crime investigators, pilots, and everyone else.

Dear citizens, I never sought any government post, nor do I do so now—this makes me a free man. I have lived up to my responsibilities to the nation, parliament, my own conscience, and God. God has been my guide, and the prayers of many Christians were heard, too. Thank you!

Stepan Trial Begins in Prague

LD2506092890 Prague CTK in English 0838 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 25 (CTK)—Legal proceedings against Miroslav Stepan, former Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and leading secretary of the party's city committee in Prague, were started here today.

He is accused of the criminal offence of abuse of power of a public official and instigation of the criminal offence of abuse of power of a public official.

The trial, with the exception of giving the verdict, will proceed behind closed doors because discussed will be some facts that are kept secret and that concern Prague's Defense Council which was chaired by Miroslav Stepan.

GERMAN UNIFICATION

Notice to Readers: *Reportage about German unification may also be found in the Federal Republic of Germany section of the West Europe DAILY REPORT and pertinent sections of the East Europe JPRS Report. Third-country comment is published as available in the appropriate DAILY REPORT or JPRS publication.*

Two-Plus-Four Second Round Opens in East Berlin

Opening Reported

LD2206104390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1026 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The foreign ministers of the two German states as well as the United States, the USSR, Great Britain, and France met for their second round of talks on the two-plus-four process in East Berlin this morning. [passage omitted]

Misselwitz Previews Talks

LD2206133990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1149 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR side expects that the six foreign ministers will develop their ideas about abolishing the four power rights over Berlin and the whole of Germany during the talks. However it is certain that nothing will be definitively resolved, State Secretary Dr. Hans-Juergen Misselwitz told journalists on the fringes of the talks. Rather they are dealing with the stage of the work on the final document achieved so far and those points on which no agreement has yet been achieved. This includes the issue of the future Germany's military and political links. In this context Misselwitz pointed to a series of proposals on the part of the Soviet Union. He made it clear that in the further course of the talks not only the Soviet Union but also the other participants will have to move and added that Federal Foreign Minister Genscher "does not only move by plane."

The issue of Poland's western frontier will be the main subject of the next round of ministerial talks in Paris in mid-July but it is of course on the agenda even now as much as it will be at the next round of expert talks in Berlin on 4 July. The Polish side will also be invited.

The state secretary dampened down expectations regarding a practical settlement of Berlin's status. The ideas on this are not yet fully developed. He described this morning's ceremony as the "happening at Checkpoint Charlie" and the participation of the Soviet foreign minister as particularly significant, because Moscow's agreement to the process of overcoming the division of Berlin was thereby expressed. The proposal put forward by Shevardnadze to demilitarize the whole of Berlin six months after the unification of the city is welcomed by the GDR. Misselwitz assumed that on this issue there is "no disagreement in principle with Bonn."

Participants Said 'Satisfied'

LD2206183890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1718 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The foreign ministers of the two German states and the four allied powers agreed today in Berlin to find a solution to the whole two-plus-four process by autumn this year, so that the external aspects of German unification can be resolved by the CSCE summit. Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere stated this this evening to ADN after a short discussion with the participants in the negotiations. They had agreed to form working groups to analyze special topics.

The Berlin session of the six foreign ministers took place in a good atmosphere. De Maiziere said that he had the impression that all the participants in the negotiations were satisfied. However, it was not right to speak of a breakthrough at the Berlin session. "The final result will be the breakthrough," De Maiziere said.

De Maiziere Advocates Swift German Unification

AU2306193490 East Berlin BERLINER ALLGEMEINE in German 18 Jun 90 p 1

[Unattributed ADN report: "No Delay in Unification"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—"The GDR's recovery will only progress if it is rapidly linked with the FRG's circulation." The unification of the two Germanys must not be postponed, the pace is in accordance with the GDR election results of 18 March.

This was stated by GDR Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere (Christian Democratic Union) at the beginning of the unification conference of the two land associations of the Berlin Young Union and the Young Democrats of Democratic Awakening in East Berlin on Saturday [16 June]. However, he does not want to precipitate unification with leaps; psychological aspects, not only material ones, must also be regarded, he said.

The GDR prime minister advocated unrestricted German unification, but interim regulations are required in some fields. The united Germany must take a clear position in Europe; it must know whether "its weight, which should not be predominant, is to be further shifted to the Rhine or to the Oder," he said.

'In Favor' of Berlin as Capital

LD2406093190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0608 GMT 24 Jun 90

[Text] Cologne (ADN)—GDR Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere has spoken out in favor of Berlin being the capital and seat of government of a united Germany. Acording to agency reports De Maiziere, speaking on Deutschlandfunk on Sunday [24 June], referred to the significance of Berlin both for the integration of the future five GDR laender as well as for the embedding of the East in European unification. The GDR head of

government emphasized that agreement on Berlin is a "substantial objective" of the negotiations for a second state treaty.

Looking ahead to the merger of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] in East and West, De Maiziere said that the term of social justice and its contents should be more strongly emphasized in future. In the West German CDU's policy this is "not discernible to the extent that I consider necessary for the future." In De Maiziere's view the "serving function" of the economy for a healthy community should be stressed more strongly in a joint party program. The head of government added: "I believe that we shall have to give more thought to this. This is a matter that is of the utmost importance."

Discusses All-German Elections

LD2206140890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1322 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—In the opinion of GDR Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere, three significant things have to be achieved before all-German elections: First of all "a second, not insignificant state treaty has to be negotiated and passed"; then lands have to be created in the GDR, and, furthermore, a good result which all sides can support is necessary from the two-plus-four process, the GDR politician stated in an interview with the Bonn-based newspaper "GENERAL-ANZEIGER" (Saturday edition). The second state treaty will have to "lay down framework conditions—on assimilation of laws and on other issues—with accession being in accordance with Article 23," he said. People in the GDR want unity "as quickly as possible but under good conditions which do not create unrest afterward," De Maziere stressed.

In response to a question concerning the speed of unification, the Christian Democratic Union politician said: "Hesitation, in any case, is wrong." However, "it may possibly be just as contrary to force it. It has to grow." There is a clear agreement within the coalition that internal and external issues have to be thought out after the first state treaty come into force.

De Maziere, who announced that he will fly to London for talks during the coming week, did not rule out cooperation on the issue of legal assistance to the authorities in the Federal Republic, which also includes the problem of extraditing suspected RAF [Red Army Faction] members. This problem will also be decided in accordance with the state based rule of law, he said. He stressed in response to the question of whether there are distinct links between the former members of the RAF who have been arrested and the former highest state officials in the GDR who he places particular weight upon as a lawyer on "chains of evidence." He does not want to comment on indicators which are hints rather than evidence.

Addresses Nation

LD2006175390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1620 GMT 20 Jun 90

["Television Address by GDR Head of State to the Nation"—ADN headline; place and date not given]

[Text] (ADN)—Eleven days separate us from 2d July 1990, the day which is to bring us economic, monetary, and social union with the Federal Republic of Germany. Everyone of us citizens of the GDR is looking toward this day with their own hopes, desires and ideas. Of course with concern too. Things cannot be different before such an incisive act of change. Even we politicians have our hopes and concerns.

As president of the People's Chamber and acting head of state of the GDR, I have decided to speak to you today because I would like to convey to you my understanding for the tangible disquiet and uncertainty. I am thinking, for example, of the concerns of the students demonstrating in front of the People's Chamber and of others thinking of their families. At the same time I would like to convey my confidence that we will deal with the coming months through our diligence, our creative strength and our creativity as well as our energy. Things will get better!

Egotism and elbow-shoving are not the imperative of the hour. Let us rather show a sense of community and solidarity.

We should help the weak and drag along those who are uncertain and pessimists! We have come this far with a magnificent peaceful revolution. We will also manage the onward path. Let me comment on another problem: That is, the current provision of the population with basic foodstuffs.

In Berlin and other areas of the country there is a shortage of potatoes, bread, pasta and rice. Apparently available goods are being kept away from citizens.

This should not be the case! All trade enterprises and institutions, and in particular the managers of these enterprises are called upon to secure the provision of basic foodstuffs. Citizens have a right to this!

I also ask trading enterprises to keep the shops open on 30 June in accordance with opening times.

We do not want there to be a shortage of solidarity after our successful revolution!

Let us tackle the current and expected difficulties together!

We will also cope with the transition, nay the radical change to a new era!

We will also deal with everyday concerns! Everyone can make his contribution to this!

PDS 'Insists' on Role in Forming German Unity

AU2506084090 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Jun 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Statement of the Party of Democratic Socialism Presidium and People's Chamber Group—Prior to All-German Elections"]

[Text] The Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] does not see itself as an obstacle on the road to German unity; however, it insists on taking part in shaping this process.

The task that the unification of the two German states entails is to set the course for the future of the Germans and of Europe which must develop a new understanding for its responsibility for the fate of human civilization. A policy interpreting the unification process as a sort of natural occurrence that cannot be influenced fails to take an active part in shaping it and refuses to assume responsibility. That is not our belief.

We are facing the task of pushing and preserving the social interests, legal claims, and moral and cultural values of the GDR citizens and the common interests of the Germans, both in the East and in the West. We must not permit the interests of the working people in the GDR and the FRG to be played against each other. We have the duty to use the chance and, together with German unity, ensure the future of a peaceful Europe practicing solidarity—a Europe from which no European people can be isolated.

It is still possible to provide German unification with a positive direction. However, the strategy of our political opponents is to exploit the existing situation, which has essentially been brought about by a policy of mere accession [Anschluss], for comprehensively restoring capitalist conditions. At the same time, a historic defeat is to be inflicted on the German and the European left, so as to oust it from the political stage for decades to come. The critical and emancipatory potential in our society is being isolated and suppressed, as elementary principles of a state ruled by the law are shamelessly violated.

A realistic view of the situation requires us, in the near future, to consistently prepare for a capitalistic united Germany. The PDS is a party that is consistently critical of capitalism and pursues a policy of anticapitalist objectives. It will use all means of a state ruled by the law to work for a socially just, democratically organized society committed to peace, disarmament, and ecology, in which the development, freedom, and dignity of the individual are the prerequisites for the development, freedom, and dignity of all.

In a Germany that is achieving unity, the alliance of the left is indispensable. That is its social responsibility. Based on equal cooperation with all democratic leftist forces, we will face the all-German elections and will take part in a strong European socialist movement.

Meckel: Unification Process Moving 'Too Fast'

PM2206133090

[Editorial Report] London ITV television network in English at 1800 GMT 20 June carries an interview with Foreign Minister Pastor Markus Meckel during a Jon Snow video report on German unification recorded earlier in the day at the GDR Embassy in London. Meckel speaks in German with superimposed translation into English. The interview includes the following exchange:

[Snow] In view of the pressure for unification, I ask Pastor Meckel, first, whether events were moving too fast.

[Meckel] I think the process is going too fast—too fast if I think of the external aspects of unification. Also too fast if I think of the internal developments in East Germany. We need a treaty before the unification which settles the relationships between the two German states down to financial redistribution.

[Snow] Is there a sense in which you are being steamrollered by the West Germans?

[Meckel] Yes, I think that is correct. The process is going fairly fast and I think that the election date has been set too early. However, as a Social Democrat, I can say that I will face up to any election, even if I am not convinced that it has been set in a prudent way.

[Snow] The big question now is about German security inside NATO and what that does for Soviet concerns.

[Meckel] Exactly. That is the question and the point where there still are a lot of open questions. We want the process of German unification to become the motor of European unification, and we should not only aim to achieve a united Germany in NATO instead of just West Germany: That is not our aim. We want changes in the European security structure toward a system of pan-European peace and security. Therefore we need to work out solutions—and for the time being, interim and transitional solutions. The putting eastward of the NATO boundaries toward the East must not happen. We have to be careful that the Soviet Union is not being threatened by these developments. Their interests must be safeguarded. We have to make sure that the Europe of the future integrates the Soviet Union. That will be an important task of the two-plus-four negotiations. This applies in terms of security, politics, and economics. Another important task is to look at the future of the Warsaw Pact, which might collapse or is certainly coming to an end. It remains to be seen if it is possible to turn the Warsaw Pact into a political instrument and use it for disarmament. I do not know if that is possible. Time will tell. That is a task that remains with us, and it also means that we have to include other East European countries in the security structure. It is important that we anticipate the solutions in our thinking now.

[Snow] When you look at the other revolutions in East Europe, do you see a division between Czechoslovakia

and Hungary, where things seem to be working out, and Romania, where things seem to be going wrong?

[Meckel] We look at Romania with a certain sense of tragic. There the situation, however, has been completely different right from the beginning compared to Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the GDR. I know Romania very well and also the situation in Siebenbuergen (Transylvania.) There has not been an opposition, as such—there have been oppositional attitudes in the churches and among the ethnic minorities like Hungarians and Germans, but only individual dissidents among the Romanians. There were not any organized groups, a lack of communication, a lot of fear, and a real threat to the physical existance of people who thought differently.

Foreign Ministry 'Distances Itself' From Tiesler

LD2506095790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0904 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Foreign Ministry, in a press statement issued on Monday [25 June], distances itself from its state secretary Dr. Frank Tiesler, who signed a statement by six DSU [German Social Union] deputies about the Oder-Neisse border with Poland. The Foreign Ministry wishes it to be known that it does not want to be associated with the view expressed by these deputies.

The DSU deputies who voted against the joint resolution of the People's Chamber and Bundestag on the Oder-Neisse border, said in their statement that they saw no need to issue yet another statement on the Oder-Neisse border. In the future, borders should play no part in Europe. Cities such as Goerlitz, Frankfurt/Oder, and Guben should be allowed to grow together again beyond any state borders. The DSU deputies called for a cultural policy which will promote the indigenous culture in Western Pomerania and the remaining areas of Lower Silesia. They also called for the constitutional recognition of the German minority beyond Oder and Neisse, as already demanded by Federal Chancellor Kohl.

The Foreign Ministry statement says: "Against the background of the history between Germans and Poles, the GDR has learned with great respect just how much the Republic of Poland is committed to promoting the process of German unification. The relationship between our governments is good. It must and will surely survive this unnecessary and ill-informed strain which the statement of the DSU deputies represents."

Sorbian Leader Discusses Place in New Germany

AU2006173090 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16-17 Jun 90 p 6

[Interview with Chief of the Domiwina Bernhard Ziesch by Dr. Thomas Kittan; place and date not given: The Sorbs Are Also One People"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Kittan] In the past few months, there have been lively discussions on the future land structure of the GDR. It is known that the Sorbs want to have their home in one land...

[Ziesch, interrupting] To overcome the separation of the Lower Lusatian and Upper Lusation Sorbs. Unfortunately, our wish was an illusion. However, we advocated a legally established cultural autonomy for Lusatia all the more. This was laid down in the Council of Ministers' resolution of early May.

[Kittan] But all problems of your people have not yet been solved by this?

[Ziesch] This is absolutely correct. We need comprehensive legal regulations. The draft of a nationality law is currently discussed in public.

[Kittan] What is especially urgent in your opinion?

[Ziesch] That even before the formation of the laender a second state treaty will be concluded with the FRG, in which the rights of the minorities are also laid down, for example, financial aid for us. For in the other German state there are no relevant laws.

[Kittan] How are the Sorbs represented in the new People's Chamber?

[Ziesch] By nine deputies of several parties who spoke in favor of our people there.

[Kittan] In the past few weeks, very different data on the number of Sorbs were published.

[Ziesch] Formerly, only the figure of 100,000 was accepted, as is known. According to all sources available to me, one can proceed from 60,000 to 70,000 Sorbian citizens. Some time ago, ADN presented the results of an ethnosociological study of the Institute for Sorbian Ethnic Research in a wrong context. The way in which these random interviews were made only permits estimates and did not produce any exact results, as was reported.

[Kittan] How serious is the danger that the Sorbian people will leave the family of nations?

[Ziesch] This danger does exist unfortunately, if we are not promoted and cannot continue to cultivate our culture and language. The Germans should not forget: We Sorbs are also one people.

Minister Pohl on Import Tax, Privatization

AU2006162590 Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 15 Jun 90 pp 21-23

[Interview with Economics Minister Gerhard Pohl by Peter Christ and Roger de Weck; place and date not given: "This Is Absolutely Carping"]

[Excerpt] [DIE ZEIT] Mr. Pohl, not long after you assumed office you said: "Actually, I am a great optimist, even though everybody else seems to be pessimistic these days." Are you still an optimist?

[Pohl] Yes, certainly, despite the fact that a few things do appear to be much more problematic than before. Yet as far as the development of the GDR economy is concerned, I am optimistic.

[DIE ZEIT] Last week the number of unemployed was reported to be 100,000. Bundesbank Director Hans Tietmeyer, who negotiated the State Treaty on behalf of the FRG Government, believes that an unemployment rate of ten percent is inevitable. The GDR Association of the Unemployed expects as many as 600,000 people to be out of work by early July. The president of the German Institute for Economic Research has said that the number of jobless people might rise up to four million. What is your estimate?

[Pohl] These figures are based on speculation, and it makes little sense to publish such figures. I think that, temporarily, we will get high "unemployment as a result of the conversion, which, however, we will be able to contain thanks to the planned schemes for retraining. After this stage—namely, unemployment as a result of restructuring—the number of unemployed in the GDR will be below 500,000. Approximately one million employees will be affected by the conversion this year.

[DIE ZEIT] Will there be the "hot fall," of which you warned only recently?

[Pohl] In this connection only an abbreviated version of what I said was quoted in the press. I would not repeat the term of "hot fall" in the same way. Land diet elections will be held in the fall. This will certainly add fuel to the discussion. Conversion-related unemployment will not calm the situation either. I hope that the measures that we have initiated, however, will become fully effective in the fall.

[DIE ZEIT] What are you doing to prevent unemployment?

[Pohl] Let us begin with the young people: In June we will adopt a law on vocational education. At the same time we will extend our training capacities; for the industry sector alone this means that the number of apprenticeship posts will rise by 400 percent to 80,000. Second, we will establish and financially support industrial centers in nine industrial centers that have been particularly affected by environmental problems.

[DIE ZEIT] Moreover, you want to protect the GDR economy through import taxes and import restrictions. As of 1 July, a flat import rate of 11 percent is to be put on a whole range of Western consumer goods.

[Pohl] Incidentally, this proposal was brought forward by Mr. Tietmeyer. I proposed very different measures.

[DIE ZEIT] That is to say different tax rates for different goods?

[Pohl] Yes, this is my idea.

[DIE ZEIT] Has it already been decided on what products you will impose an import tax?

[Pohl] We still have to agree on that. A list of products has been published in Bonn. This list was not compiled by me or my ministry.

[DIE ZEIT] What imports would you like to tax?

[Pohl] Consumer goods, of course. Yet I would also like to include the spheres of the environment, construction, and transport in my considerations. I do not want to comment on the question of criteria here. We are not quite sure about this ourselves.

[DIE ZEIT] The import tax is to be phased out at the end of March 1991. Is this enough time to make GDR enterprises competitive?

[Pohl] For the great majority of enterprises it is not. The situation is as follows: A total of 31 percent of the enterprises are immediately competitive and do not require any Western capital; nevertheless we encourage them to set up joint ventures and participations. All other enterprises, apart from those enterprises that are severely threatened by bankruptcy, will need at least three years until they can really show their strength on the market. The State Treaty provides for threes years for adapting to the market. For this large group—42 to 50 percent—we want to fully use this period.

[DIE ZEIT] That is to say that the import tax will be in force for a maximum of three years?

[Pohl] I do not want to set up a protective fence for the economy. This would impede the process of adapting our structures. Yet for very specific industries and groups of products this import tax should remain in force for an extended period.

[DIE ZEIT] The protective tariffs have been rejected by FRG industry and by FRG politicians. FRG Economics Minister Helmut Haussmann even regards the import tax as infringing on the agreements. Is he right?

[Pohl] Minister Haussmann never used this expression when we met. The 11-percent import tax is stipulated in the State Treaty, in the drafting of which Haussmann's aides participated as well. Let me repeat this once more: The import tax was not suggested by us. We wanted and still want to adopt a more differentiated approach.

[DIE ZEIT] Citizens in the GDR had been looking forward to finally getting unimpeded access to Western goods. Now you want to make many products more expensive and create an artificial shortage. Is this the right start to the market economy?

[Pohl] I think nobody is in a position to transform a highly bureaucratic command economy into a market economy in a few months. Even Portugal and Spain are granted adaptation periods of between five and ten years. Even the West German economy takes protective measures at times. Just think of the "coal pfennig."

[DIE ZEIT] Border controls will be abolished on 1 July. However, many goods will be cheaper in the FRG than

in the GDR because of the import tax. Do you want customs officers to make people open their trunks again?

[Pohl] We do not want customs controls. Nobody will check how many pounds of coffee somebody has bought in West Berlin.

[DIE ZEIT] Do you not think that all GDR retail traders near the border who are struggling to survive anyway will suffer heavy losses of sales?

[Pohl] I am fully aware of the fact that there will be specific problems in the Berlin area and the region along to the border. For this reason, the State Treaty provides for measures concerning the infrastructure of the border regions. This year, 100 million Deutsche marks [DM] will be provided by us and by Bonn in this connection.

[DIE ZEIT] Let me give you a specific example: Let us suppose that there is a small shop selling television sets in the East, and 300 meters to the West another shop which also sells television sets. The shop located in the East will not sell anything because goods are 11 percent more expensive there because of the import tax.

[Pohl] We must accept this. This individual example shows the basic problem, but we must see the overall picture. I do not believe that 16 million GDR citizens will shop in the Western shop—simply because it would be too great an effort.

[DIE ZEIT] Another cornerstone of your policy is subsidies for investments. The GDR Government wants to provide 12-percent subsidies for private investments until 1991, and 8-percent subsidies until the middle of 1992. The president of the German Industry and Trade Association, Hans Peter Stihl, has stated in this connection: "This sounds good but will have little effect." Craftsmen, merchants, and companies providing services that create many jobs with little investment, will hardly profit from the subsidies for investments.

[Pohl] A total of DM6 billion have been provided for medium-sized enterprises within the European Recovery Program, of which DM4.2 billion have already been used. In addition, the medium-sized enterprises will also profit from the subsidies for investments. If a craftsman's enterprise invests DM20,000, a 12-percent subsidy is naturally quite a small amount. Still, this amount provides some relief. Thus I do not agree with Mr. Stihl.

[DIE ZEIT] You have repeatedly stated that medium-sized enterprises are very important to you. Still there have been angry protests from this side. The representatives of the Association of Self-Employed Persons even threatened to strike. What do you think are the reasons why they do not agree with your policy?

[Pohl] I do not know. These gentlemen are members of the Council of Experts with whom I meet every two weeks. This means that they are partly involved in the decisions of the Economics Ministry. The statements by the Association of Self-Employed Persons simply show that they are against German unity and against the State Treaty. The gentlemen only want monetary union, not economic and social union.

[DIE ZEIT] The medium-sized enterprises accuse the bureaucracy of trying to delay the allocation of land or space that can be used for industrial purposes.

[Pohl] Anybody can apply for the purchase of land for industrial purposes. GDR citizens have the right of preemption. We encourage them to apply to purchase land. I do not know why so few applications have been filed so far.

[DIE ZEIT] The attempts by many workmen to set up their own businesses fails because they do not have master craftsman's certificates and thus their applications are turned down. Would it not be better to be more unbureaucratic in this connection?

[Pohl] One must exert pressure on bureaucracy. Therefore we have installed authorized government representatives whose job it is to implement the government policy in the bezirks. On the local level the freely elected parliaments must exert pressure on the apparatus if necessary. Yet many people still believe in the motto—and this is substantiated by 150 to 420 letters, which I receive daily—that, since in the past everything was decided in Berlin, everything should be decided in Berlin in the future as well. Yet I cannot and do not want to run my ministry in the old style. Not everybody has realized that we are in a new situation. One must understand this considering the rapid course of events. It is not helpful when the internal constitution of the GDR is continually criticized from the outside, from a safe position. That is absolutely carping. Yet there are also many people in the FRG who really do help. We can do without those that only give good advice.

[DIE ZEIT] Many employers are also unsatisfied. The bank employees have demanded a 100-percent pay increase.

[Pohl] This gives a wrong signal. In the same way in which I reject the demand made by the self-employed, I must also advise against such a pay increase. Only when we achieve the necessary productivity will we be able to pay the appropriate wages for the work.

[DIE ZEIT] This will probably take some time. After all, it is not just small enterprises that are facing hard times but also big ones. What will you do in order to avoid entire branches of industry dying out?

[Pohl] In the government commission that deals with adapting the structures, we are concentrating on specific major enterprises that are seriously threatened with bankruptcy. We will not be able to completely rescue every individual enterprise. Moreover, this would prevent structural effects: Where should the people come from that move toward medium-sized enterprises?

Let us take the automobile industry as a case in point: Even this June we will begin to strongly reduce the

production of the Trabant car. The employees will have to work part time. Others will produce spare parts or work on fulfilling the remaining contracts. Yet a major part of the workers will start retraining even before the monetary union. There is no other solution. Out of the 11,000 workers in the parent company in Zwickau 8,000 or 9,000 will have to undergo retraining. Once new Volkswagen cars are built in Zwickau, some 5,000 or 6,000 can return to modern work places.

[DIE ZEIT] Will the necessary retraining capacities be available in good time?

[Pohl] We have 80 million marks for this purpose. We have worked out pilot projects for vocational education, which will start at the beginning of July. The former technical schools, which we have further developed into technical colleges, will also make their contribution. We also want to use the enterprise academies for retraining. Yet we also count on the assistance by West German enterprises and associations.

[DIE ZEIT] You have decided to break up and privatize the giant combines. Only 503 of the 8,000 state-owned enterprises have so far been transformed into corporations. Why does this take so much time?

[Pohl] This is equally due to indifference and incompetence—but, I must add, also to malevolence. People from the old enterprise managements are delaying developments. It cannot go on like this. This is why, on the basis of a resolution of the People's Chamber, the enterprises are now forced to apply by 1 July to be transformed into corporations. This process must be concluded by October. We will put pressure on the directors of the state- owned enterprises. There are directors of enterprises who have recognized the signs of the times and are forcing the breaking up of their enterprises themselves. However, there are also others—and unfortunately they are still a majority—who are not doing that. [passage omitted]

Introduces Measures for Enterprises

LD2206140190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1028 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Berlin (VWD) [agency as received]—Economic Minister Pohl has announced a comprehensive catalogue of measures aimed at facilitating the structural adjustment of GDR enterprises to the new market conditions and advancing the development of a modern economic structure. At a meeting in Berlin (East) today, he announced that the legal provisions necessary for this will be drafted by the end of the month. Thus, from 1 July [1990] to 30 June 1991 all enterprises making equipment investments on GDR territory will receive an investment allowance of 12 percent from the GDR state budget. In the period 1 July, 1991 to 30 June, 1992 the allowance will total eight percent.

The European Recovery Program planned by the federal government will be supplemented by 4.8 to 6 billion Deutsche mark (DM) in 1990, resources to promote an economic infrastructure in the GDR's border region will also be made available from the GDR and FRG state budgets in 1990 and 1991. The GDR state budget, moreover, is earmarking DM1 billion in 1991 for the expansion of the infrastructure in nine priority areas in the GDR. These include Cottbus, Halle/Merseburg, Chemnitz, Suhl, and Greifswald. The existing tax benefits for enterprises which obtain goods and services from GDR territory in intra-German trade will be continued by the FRG Government up to 31 March 1991.

The GDR is to impose temporary surcharges on deliveries of selected consumer goods from the FRG and western industrialized countries. They are to total 11 percent up to the end of 1990 and then six percent until 31 March 1991. In the placing of orders by public authorities, enterprises established on GDR territory will be given preferential treatment for a fixed period of time. Finally, the necessary conditions will be created to allow the Reconstruction Loan Corporation of the Federal Republic to implement additional credit facilities with favorable conditions in the GDR.

Prices To Be Determined by Supply, Demand

AU2206185290 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 18 Jun 90 p 1

[Unattributed ADN/DDP report: "Supply and Demand Determine Prices"]

[Text] East Berlin—As of 1 July the principle of the free market establishing prices will be valid in the GDR, prices will be decided by supply and demand. With the exception of a few selected goods and services for the population with high social, ecological, or economic importance, there will no longer be any regulations or interference by the state. This was stated by subdepartment head Manfred Ortlieb, who is responsible for pricing policies in the Economics Ministry, referring to the price law, which has been introduced in the People's Chamber.

Like any enterprise, in the future it will be the responsibility of the craftsman to set the prices for his goods and services in competition with other suppliers, without any claim to any subsidies, Ortlieb stressed. All consumers will have to look around—as is usual in a free market economy—to see where they can buy things at favorable prices.

As a result of the free setting of prices as of 1 July, the prices for staple foods and many goods for everyday consumption will change, the expert on prices stressed.

According to Heinrich Franke, president of the Nuremberg Federal Labor Office, about 2 trillion Deutsche mark are necessary for investments in the GDR.

FRG Bundestag Committee on GDR Bankruptcies

AU2206173490 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 18 Jun 90 p 2

[Unattributed ADN/BZ report: "Solvency Not Ensured After 1 July"]

[Text] Bonn—The Bundestag Finance Committee has revealed omissions by the FRG Government concerning the regulations on loan assessments in the new state treaty. They have led to the fact that after the monetary conversion many GDR enterprises will be insolvent and it will not be their fault.

This was pointed out by Joachim Poss, chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany Bundestag group in the Finance Committee, in Bonn on Sunday [17 June]. During the concluding discussions on the state treaty, the committee reproached the government for the fact that after 1 July a large part of the GDR enterprises will not be able to pay for equipment and wages from their own income in Deutsche mark or to secure loans from banks on normal credit bases. Poss stated that the law on establishing an opening balance sheet in Deutsche mark, which is necessary for the start of the market economy and which is to regulate the initial assessment of a company's creditworthiness, is to be passed only at the end of September 1990. Until then, the deputy said, many companies, which would be competitive in the long run, will be threatened with insolvency and thus with collapse.

In the view of the Finance Committee, a program of guarantees, to finance equipment during the time immediately following the state treaty's implementation, is "indispensable," particularly for the smaller and medium-sized enterprises in the GDR. If such a program cannot be organized within the framework of the Trust Authority for reasons of time, a corresponding state program should be established. The FRG finance minister, whose approval will be necessary in the future, is called upon to make preparations so that after 1 July the GDR can guarantee loans to its enterprises in order to overcome the liquidity bottleneck. This would be the only way to avoid the high costs of sudden mass unemployment.

Personal Savings Increase; M1.9 Billion in May

AU2406134490 East Berlin BERLINER ALLGEMEINE in German 19 Jun 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "GDR People Saving More Again"]

[Text] East Berlin—According to the GDR Statistical Office, by the end of May 1990, the GDR people had savings totaling 182.8 billion GDR marks [M], including insurance savings. These are M5.5 billion more than at the beginning of the year. In May alone, savings increased by M1.9 billion. Thus, the average savings per inhabitant amounted to M11,122 at the end of May. This includes M1,087—that is, 9.8 percent—in insurance policies as savings instruments. Looked at in line with the future structure of laender, the savings per citizen are lowest in Mecklenburg-Hither Pomerania with M10,087 and highest in Saxony with 12,369. As a result of the high increase of the people's personal disposable income, cash stocks also rose by 0.9 billion to 13.6 billion in May.

People's Chamber Approves Changes to Labor Law

LD2206122190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0922 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—As a result of a decision made by the People's Chamber, GDR employees can now be made deemed expendable, even during illness, following an accident at work, in the case of work-related illness and quarantine, and during a recuperative vacation. A Party for Democratic Socialism proposal to prevent dismissal under these circumstances was rejected by parliament with a majority today. However, the law on altering and supplementing the labor statute book, passed today by the People's Chamber, guarantees employees some protection against dismissal.

Under the law, former resistance fighters and those persecuted under fascism, pregnant women, nursing mothers, mothers and fathers with children under one year of age as well as unmarried employees with children under three years of age cannot be dismissed without notice. [passage omitted]

The date 7 October, which has been celebrated as a national holiday in the GDR since 1949, will no longer be a statutory holiday. This also emerges from the decision on the labor statute book. [passage omitted]

A bill on the adoption of the FRG regional planning law by the GDR was moved by Construction Minister Dr. Axel Viehweger. The basic aim is to create a legal framework to preserve regional and local interests in the case of decisions on regional planning and certain investments. [passage omitted]

Parliament also adopted a package of 18 tax laws following a second reading. [passage omitted]

At the end of question-and-answer period, Minister of Economic Cooperation Hans-Wilhelm Ebeling [German Social Union] called on deputies and GDR citizens to give donations to the earthquake victims in northern Iran. [passage omitted] An account for donations is to be established.

A submission by the Liberal group in parliament, that the Council of Ministers should be briefed to ensure that persons recently arrested on suspicion of RAF [Red Army Faction] terrorism should be handed over as soon as possible to the competent FRG authorities, was referred to the Legal and Interior Committee to ascertain the parliament's role in this issue. [passage omitted]

Antifascist Rally in Berlin Turns 'Violent'

LD2306161390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1549 GMT 23 Jun 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Violent clashes occurred on the sidelines of an antifascist demonstration in Berlin on Saturday [23 June], which began peacefully. Masked extremists attacked the police forces assigned to protect the site of the profascist "National Alternative" (NA)

meeting, in Weitling Street, Lichtenberg, with stones and explosives. Several police cars were burned. Apparently a number of people were injured. Ambulances pulled out of the police cordon. Earlier, masked men had looted a cigarette kiosk and attacked a car's driver with clubs.

Interior Ministry Statement

LD2406080890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0415 GMT 24 Jun 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Sixteen injured People's Police members, some injured seriously, two completely burned out and two heavily damaged police vehicles are the unfortunate outcome of the attacks by about 400 militant youth, some of them masked, on police in Berlin's Lichtenberg area yesterday. A GDR Interior Ministry press statement issued this morning says that they had pelted police with Molotov cocktails and flag stones and attacked them with steel and glass balls, screws, nuts, and fireworks. Four hooligans were arrested and investigative proceedings were instituted against two of them. [passage omitted]

The deputy, of the prime minister and the minister of the interior, has thanked all the People's Police involved for their "determined action in averting this extremely complicated situation." He wished the injured a speedy recovery.

The Berlin People's Police president in charge of the operations had ordered the use of water cannons, tear gas, and other means to reestablish public order, the press statement says. This stopped and repelled the hooligans. The Police president had temporary access to additional police units in the early evening to forestall further clashes.

The deployment of the People's Police had not aimed at protectiing the right-wing extremists, as had been claimed by some quarters, but above all at preventing violence between rival groups and at protecting citizens in residential areas, the press statement says. The causes of politically motivated extremism could not be overcome through police deployment, only through political decisions and legislative measures. [passage omitted]

De Maiziere Comments

LD2406164890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1547 GMT 24 Jun 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—With reference to the violence during a demonstration in the East Berlin district of Lichtenberg on Saturday [23 June], which was attended by masked demonstrators, GDR Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere has sharply condemned any and all forms of violence. "Right-wing extremist forces must not be fought with violent left-wing extremism. The basis for our country's democratization was the peaceful protest of the people. This must remain so. For this reason the GDR Government is observing such violence with concern," he said in a press declaration.

Lothar de Maiziere thanked the People's Police for their judicious action and stressed that this is the only way to prevent a greater number of casualties. He wished the injured policemen a speedy recovery.

The GDR Government advocates freedom of speech for all citizens of the country. This includes registered and peaceful demonstrations, the declaration says.

RAF in GDR Forced To Renounce Terrorism

LD2206051390 Hamburg DPA in German 1846 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—In the view of the former deputy minister of state security, Guenter Neiber, the suspected Red Army Faction [RAF] terrorists, who went underground in the GDR and have now been arrested, had no possibility of carrying out attacks in the Federal Republic. Neiber said this evening on GDR Television that the former Stasi chief, Erich Mielke, had made integration of the RAF dropouts in the GDR a condition of the renunciation of all terrorist activity and contacts with the RAF.

Neiber had formally headed the Main Department 22, responsible for combating terrorism, which furnished the terrorists with new identities in the early 1980s.

Neiber said that the first contacts between the Stasi and RAF were established in 1977. The occasion was the arrest of three RAF members by officials of the Federal Office of Criminal Investigations and Bulgarian security forces. At the time, three additional RAF members escaped to Czechoslovakia and had asked to be admitted to the GDR in order, Neiber said, to "solve their problems there." At Mielke's instigation, the three were questioned in the GDR for several days and were then flown to the Middle East.

In his televised statement, Neiber added that the three RAF members and seven additional like-minded comrades were admitted to the GDR in the early 1980s as RAF dropouts. This decision had been taken "centrally" by Mielke. Mielke would certainly have had the decision confirmed by Socialist Unity Party of Germany and state chief Erich Honecker "as was usual."

The aim had been "to combat terrorism" and "get terrorists out of the RAF." The terrorists had "led lives as ordinary citizens" in the GDR and, to his knowledge, had no links with the RAF. Neiber expressed the conviction that no more RAF terrorists other than the ten arrested ones, of whom two have been released due to their sentences having lapsed, were likely to be in the GDR. "That must be all of them", the former lieutenant general stated.

Further on 'Terrorists'

AU2206113690 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 22 Jun 90 p 1

["da./Kal./DW"-signed report: "Terrorism: Proceedings Against Honecker and Mielke"]

[Excerpts] Karlsruhe/Berlin—[passage omitted] According to information obtained by BERLINER MORGENPOST, at the beginning of the 1980's Honecker personally ordered the naturalization of nine Red Army Faction [RAF] members. Today Helmut Voigt, head of Department VIII, which was responsible for the RAF, and his deputy Paetzold, are members of the committee that is supposed to dissolve the State Security Service.

Yesterday afternoon the Berlin City Court reportedly granted Susanne Albrecht's complaint against her extradition. As a result the Public Prosecutor's Office started investigations, Mrs. Albrecht was temporarily arrested, and an arrest warrant was requested and has since been announced. This procedure might have consequences for the other seven suspected RAF members, who are in detention in the GDR. Already previously, some GDR jurists considered it impermissible for the still existing GDR to extradite the eight persons to the FRG. Because it is indisputable that they have GDR citizenship. The fact that it had perhaps been obtained by "trickery" is no reason for rescinding it because the period for rescission is only five years. Regarding the current procedures in the Albrecht case—taking her into "normal detention pending trial" following the repeated temporary arrest and starting investigations in the GDR—the solution would be that the investigations would probably take longer than the GDR will remain in existence. After reunification a transfer to Karlsruhe would no longer constitute an extradition.

In the meantime, the FRG Public Prosecutor's Office is examining the potential start of investigations against Honecker, Mielke, and others for supporting the RAF. [passage omitted]

The suspicion that the suspected terrorists, who have been arrested in the GDR, committed crimes also after their naturalization has meanwhile been underpinned by investigations by ZDF [second German television channel]. Thus, the shift records of the company, where Henning Beer worked, shows that he was non on duty on the days the three terrorist attacks occurred. On 30 November 1989, the day of the assassination of Alfred Herrhausen, Beer was on leave. The same goes for 17 to 19 September 1988 (attack on State Secretary Tietmeyer in Bonn) as well as in June 1988 at the time of a bomb attack in Spain.

The search for suspected terrorists has been intensified in the GDR, the FRG Interior Ministry stated. Ottfried Hennig, state secretary in the Ministry for Inner-German Relations, told DIE WELT that it is practically ridiculous when the former leaders of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany now pretend that they did not know anything. Wolf is an "accomplice" as the responsible head of the State Security Service.

Law on Constitutional Principles Published

AU2106182890 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 Jun 90 p 6

[Unattributed report: "Law on Changing and Amending the GDR Constitution (Constitutional Principles)"]

[Text] Realizing that a peaceful and democratic revolution took place in the GDR in autumn 1989 and expecting the speedy establishment of Germany's state unity, the GDR Constitution will be **supplemented** by the following constitutional principles for **a** transitional period. **Constitutional principles to the contrary are no longer legally valid.**

Article 1

Basic Liberal System

(1) The GDR is a liberal, democratic, federative, social, and ecologically oriented state based on the rule of law. As regards the federative system, this is valid on the basis of a special supplement to the Constitution and legal regulations, which still have to be adopted. **The state guarantees local self-administration.**

(2) Provisions of the Constitution and of other legal regulations are to be applied in line with **this constitutional law. Provisions in legal regulations,** which commit the individual or organs of state power to the socialist state and legal system, to the principle of democratic centralism, to socialist lawfulness, to socialist legal consciousness, or to views of individual groups of people or parties, are **rescinded.**

(3) **The responsible court may be called on to examine the constitutionality of the laws and other legal acts. Details are regulated by a law.**

Article 2

Property

Private property including the acquisition of property and property-like rights over real estate and producer goods are guaranteed. This does not touch upon the legal permission of special forms of property for participation of the public sector or other legal authorities in economic transactions **as well as a constitutional examination of the existing property relations. Its utilization is to serve both the common good and the protection of the natural bases of life.**

Article 3

Economic Freedom of Action

(1) Every natural and juridical person has the right to conclude contracts with others and to engage in economic activities within the framework of the laws.

(2) Foreign economic relations, including foreign trade and foreign currency management, may be regulated by law but must not be monopolized by the state or by anyone else.

Article 4

Parties to Collective Agreements

(1) Everyone has the right to form associations to safeguard and promote, **in particular to regulate** working and economic conditions, to join them, to leave such associations, and to stay away from them.
(2) Trade unions and employers' associations, which are capable of concluding collective agreements, must be freely formed, must be organized on a supra-enterprise basis, and must be independent; they must also recognize as binding **the law on industrial action** and the currently valid law concerning collective bargaining.
Article 5

Independent Judiciary

(1) **If someone's rights are violated by the public authority, he has the right to legal recourse.**
(2) The judges are independent and are only subject to the Constitution **on the basis of this constitutional law** and to the laws. Thus they are not subject to any supervision by state or social organs. Guidance of administration of justice of lower courts by superior courts is not permitted.
Article 6

Protection of the Environment

The protection of the natural environment is the duty of the state and of all citizens. It is to be safeguarded by laws.
Article 7

Protection of Work

The worker is protected by the state. The state promotes the right of the individual to lead a dignified life in social justice and economic freedom through work, **and creates the necessary framework conditions for this.**
Article 8

Sovereign Rights

The GDR may transfer sovereign rights to intergovernmental institutions and to FRG institutions via constitutional laws or may agree to the restriction of sovereign rights.
Article 9 **Amended Version**

Article 106 of the GDR Constitution will be amended as follows:
"Article 106

"The Constitution may be amended by the GDR People's Chamber by a law, which is expressly designated as a 'constitutional law.' State treaties of the GDR and other international law treaties are to be confirmed by a law, which is expressly designated as a 'constitutional law,' if they **concern constitutional issues**; this law **requires the approval of two-thirds of the People's Chamber's members.**"
Article 10

Concluding Provisions

This constitutional law comes into force on ... 1990 and remains valid until a Basic Law comes into force.

This law was discussed at the 15th session of the People's Chamber on Sunday [17 June]. *The majority of the deputies approved it. Passages in bold print in the text were marked in this way by the authors of this law.*

People's Chamber Votes for Constitutional Change

LD2206155990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1303 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The five lands of Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, Brandenburg, Sachsen-Anhalt, Saxony and Thuringia are to be established on GDR territory. Berlin (capital of the GDR) is to receive the status of a land. This is provided by the constitutional law on the formation of lands in the GDR, which the 17th session of the GDR People's Chamber addressed in Berlin today in its first reading, one day after adopting the intra-German State Treaty.

The draft law describes the GDR as a democratic and social federal state. The introduction of federal structures in the GDR is an important condition for the unification of the two German states. [passage omitted]

The parliament passed, by a large majority, a package of 18 tax laws after a second reading. This means that the GDR will adopt the FRG's tax legislation after the State Treaty has come into force. The tax laws include, among others, value-added tax and special consumer taxes on beer, spirits, coffee, tea, sparkling wine, means of lighting, oil, sugar, salt, and tobacco. The wages and income tax will also aply from 1 July.

Speaking to the People's Chamber, Minister Professor Dr. Karl-Hermann Steinberg of the Christian Democratic Union confirmed that a closed session near Berlin is currently conducting negotiations with FRG firms on the sale of sections of the GDR's energy economy. The minister drew attention to the urgent need for ecological, economic, technical, and social improvement of the GDR's energy economy, which requires foreign capital. After a brief debate, the parliament voted with five abstentions to adopt the resolution, which will, at least for the time being, halt the sale of the GDR energy industry. [passage omitted]

The debate ended this afternoon without all points on the agenda having been dealt with. The next session of parliament will take place on Thursday, 28 June 1990.

FRG's Stoltenberg Advocates Military Service

AU2106210090 East Berlin BERLINER ALLGEMEINE in German 18 Jun 90 p 2

[Unattributed ADN report: "Stoltenberg in Favor of Compulsory Military Service in Berlin"]

[Text] Berlin (West)—After the unification of the two German states, compulsory military service will also be introduced in all of Berlin. This was announced by FRG Defense Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg in the BERLINER MORGENPOST. Because of the constitutional principle of equality before the law in a united Germany with universal compulsory military service, Berlin will not be able to stick to its special status in the long run, he stated.

The structure of a future Army in Germany should only be concretely discussed after the conclusion of the two-plus-four talks. The minister said that the presence of Soviet Armed Forces in the GDR is conceivable for a limited transition period after German unification.

The objective is a united Germany as a member of the Atlantic Alliance, without extending NATO's military structures or facilities to GDR territory.

Eppelmann Sets Terms for People's Army Reduction

LD2506081490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0243 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—According to Rainer Eppelmann, GDR minister of defense, there will only be a radical disarmament of the GDR People's Army (NVA) if the Bundeswehr is also reduced drastically. Eppelmann said this morning on North German Radio that it is untenable that the disarmament of the German armed forces, to an agreed upon upper limit, is 80 percent the cost of the NVA and only 20 percent the cost of the Bundeswehr.

However, Eppelmann qualified his statement that in a unified Germany there have to be two armies. He too, in the end, favors only one German army. He agreed with the principle of Federal Minister of Defense Gerhard Stoltenberg—one people, one government, one army. The difference between him (Eppelmann) and Stoltenberg is in the fact that the federal minister of defense can imagine the period of time leading to actual implementation as being shorter than he does.

Allied Checkpoint Charlie Dismantled

LD2206095290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0816 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In the presence of the foreign ministers from the United States, the USSR, France, and Britain and of the FRG and the GDR the dismantling of the allied control point Checkpoint Charlie began this morning in Berlin's Friedrichstrasse. The American city commandant, Major-General Haddock, said in his welcoming address that the wall of concrete and barbed wire had not stood the "test of time." For 29 years it had proved to be a temporary thing. He thanked the allied troops who had served at the crossing point. The dismantling of the control point is a signal for the progress of freedom and democracy.

French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas recalled that Checkpoint Charlie was set up immediately after the building of the wall in 1961. Its dismantling ends 29 years of unhappiness and humiliation and is a step toward the future which the Europeans are building together. "This is a ceremony for freedom," the minister stated. He thanked the Berliners for their courage and their patience and the East Germans for their "peaceful revolution." The countries represented here want to jointly build the Europe of the future with them. The wall as a symbol of the division of people and nations, their humilitation and their miseries and confrontation between countries, has disappeared with the advance of time. Checkpoint Charlie lost its reason for existence and thus a tense chapter in postwar history has been ended. In history this point will now become a symbol of reconciliation between the Germans and the Europeans.

Britain's Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd described the border crossing as a frontline of the cold war. It had also been a symbol of the Western allies' conviction that Berlin would one day be free again. Hurd stressed that the checkpoint had never been regarded as permanent. After its dismantling the Friedrichstrasse would once again be a lively commercial street. Hurd urged that one should never forget the reasons why Checkpoint Charlie had been in operation for so long.

Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze submitted a proposal to withdraw all allied troops from the Berlin region within six months of the formation of an all-German parliament. Parallel to the troop withdrawal the stipulations on Berlin's special status should be lifted. This offer was part of a draft document which the Soviet Union is to submit at the two-plus-four talks in Berlin. The document should serve to achieve a "final treaty settlement with Germany." Shevardnadze said that active preliminary work had been carried out to pave the way to German unity on the basis of the preservation of the legitimate interests of the participants in the negotiations.

Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher urged that above all else, those who lost their lives at the wall, which symbolized the inhuman division of Berlin and Germany, should be remembered. He thanked the Western allies for their help during the city's time of distress, and the new Soviet leadership which had made this day possible through its policy. Today's 49th anniversary of Hitler Germany's invasion of the USSR, which resulted in an inhuman war for the Soviet people, should not be forgotten either.

Genscher described German unification as a contribution to stability and peace and the unification of Europe. The German people want nothing more than to live "in freedom and unity, in peace and friendship with all peoples on our continent."

GDR Foreign Minister Markus Meckel described the Berlin Wall as the "expression of the visible division of Europe and symbol of the Cold War." It had been a "thorn in the flesh of Europe." Thus one was at Checkpoint Charlie at a historic moment in German and

European history. Noting also the two-plus-four talks taking place today in East Berlin, Meckel said that there is no better time or place to reach an understanding on the external aspects of German unification. No effort should be too great to fashion a life fit for human beings in Europe and the world. Markus Meckel painted a picture of Berlin as the sovereign capital of Germany, a metropolis of peaceful interchange.

U.S. Secretary of State James Baker stressed the clear change at this site from a division to a bridge, "not a bridge made out of steel, but a bridge of peace and freedom." The Americans had stood together with their allies at this point, determined to overcome the divisions caused by the cold war. The time for this has now come, together with a new generation of Soviet leaders. They have now gathered here to embark on a new era, to spread hope, and to underline the dream of freedom. Berlin will be undivided, Germany will be united in peace and freedom, Europe will be whole. The American people embarked on this trip together with the Berliners, Germans, and Europeans. In conclusion Baker said: "In opening the gate to history, the spirit of freedom is abroad on this street to unite this city, this people and to heal this continent."

After the speeches by the six foreign ministers and the two mayors, the French city commandant stated that Checkpoint Charlie had served Berlin for a long time and would now be closed honorably.

To the sounds of the Linke melody "Das ist die Berliner Luft" and to the applause of those present, including the former governing mayor of West Berlin, Willy Brandt, the guardhouse of the checkpoint was removed by a crane.

Maps 'Distorted' by Ministry of State Security

AU2406170390 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 20 Jun 90 p 2

[Unattributed ADN/BZ report: "GDR Maps Are Completely Wrong"]

[Text] Hamburg—At the order of the former Ministry of State Security, maps in the GDR had been distorted or forged since 1968. This was confirmed by GDR cartographers at an expert discussion with FRG colleagues in Marburg, ARD [FRG television channel one] reported. According to Rex Pustkowski of the Berlin/Leipzig Tourist publishing house, for years the publishing house had to produce maps for the public based upon distorted information. The distorted maps were intended to make orientation difficult for "those who tried to flee the GDR and for Western agents," in particular in border areas. For this purpose, roads were drawn incorrectly and distances were wrong.

GDR-USSR Foreign Economic Talks Conclude

LD2106163490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1435 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Foreign economic relations between the GDR and the USSR within global-market conditions were the subject of three days of economic talks which GDR Economics Minister Gerhard Pohl and Stefan Sitaryan, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, ended in Berlin today. Pohl, chairman of the GDR delegation to the GDR/USSR Government Commission, and Sitaryan, chairman of the State Foreign Economic Commission, also discussed issues of cooperation in setting up sites for obtaining raw materials in the USSR, scientific and technical cooperation as well as matters concerning finances and assets. Foreign economic relations between the two countries are to be expanded in accordance with the principles of the market economy as well as one the basis of economic and monetary union between the FRG and the GDR. The work on the a draft governmental agreement was, for the most part, concluded.

Shevardnadze Meets Baker, Reports Emigration Law

LD2206224990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2125 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—After the summer break, the USSR Supreme Soviet will pass an emigration law and thus clear the way for the ratification by the United States Congress of the trade law signed by Presidents Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush in Washington. The Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze made the announcement this evening in Berlin following a meeting with his U.S. counterpart James Baker. In this regard, Shevardnadze made it clear that measures were expected from the Israeli Government that exclude the settling of Soviet emigrants in the occupied Arab territories.

The meeting, which lasted more than two-and-a-half hours at the Soviet Embassy, was useful and necessary. The exchange of ideas served to analyze developments since the Washington summit meeting, and the acceleration of the implementation of the summit's resolutions.

Baker and Shevardnadze agreed to continue their direct talks on the sidelines of the two-plus-four negotiations in mid-July in Paris. James Baker said to journalists that before then there were still a range of important meetings coming up in Europe. The head of the State Department referred here in particular to the NATO summit conference, arranged for the beginning of July, where important guidelines for future NATO strategy are expected.

Baker pointed out that at the Berlin round of the two-plus-four negotiations "certain progress" had been achieved. But there were also "clear differences." The progress has, above all, to do with the agreement on principles for the handling of border questions, and on the final document in the discussions in the round of talks between the six foreign ministers. "I hope that we can achieve further progress in Paris, and then in Moscow, and if necessary also at a meeting in Washington," Baker said.

Government Discusses Military Service, Budget

LD2206004290 Budapest MTI in English 2001 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 21 (MTI)—According to information from the Prime Minister's office, the government held a session on Thursday [21 June]. In the absence of Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, the session was chaired by Minister of the Interior Balazs Horvath.

The government decided it would propose parliament to reduce the duration of regular military service to 12 months.

The Council of Ministers discussed the report on proposals for measures to improve the balance of the 1990 state budget. It decided that it will place the extended form of the legal measure amendments into the proposal package that is expected to be discussed by the government at its special session on Thursday. The package plan aims at enlivening economy, and includes social-welfare policy proposals, and other moves to accelerate advancement.

Under another bill approved by the Council of Ministers, the current, 30-day duration of the permit issued by the minister of justice, related to the use of special secret service means, would change to 90 days.

In the interest of promoting the enforcement of human rights, the government proposes to repeal a decree included in a statutory rule of 1988, which excluded the authority of the international committee against torture in Hungary. In case the proposal is accepted, the committee can carry out investigations in these matters in Hungary or, on Hungarian request, in another country that belongs to the convenant against torture and cruel treatment.

The government agreed that the former central headquarters of the Hungarian Socialist Party be placed under the management of parliament's office.

Interior Minister Horvath on Legal Issues

LD2306220190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 23 Jun 90

[Interview with Interior Minister Balazs Horvath by correspondent Katalin Rangos; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Rangos] I believe you found out through an inquiry from deputy Miklos Omolnar about the operation of a company that deals with arms trading, and that interior affairs functionaries are involved. There is also a small part of the budget assets involved, a state enterprise has a part in this, and there are individuals who work in the Interior Ministry who perhaps could also have made a decision about those things, which, in the given case, were taken into the arms trading company. I believe this venture is called the Arsenal company.

[Horvath] Yes, it is true that I was informed about this through a deputy's inquiry. Of course the reason for this is not that the Interior Ministry's new leadership is not interested in these ventures of rather dubious origins, but simply that the matter broke three or four weeks ago as a result of the inquiry. I had the matter looked into, and the legal situation was established, which is that in truth that Arsenal has been created but is not yet operating. It has been registered at the Metropolitan Court [words indistinct]. When we found out about this, the (?deputy state secretary) took steps in the matter. We stopped it, and told the state enterprise which also has a share in this company to [words indistinct].

In my view, and that of the Interior Ministry, we have no demands, outstanding accounts regarding each other, and we will make everybody leave this Arsenal company.

It was in the wake of this affair that I drew attention to every situation, every official coming under the Interior Ministry, and also the people working in the Interior Ministry itself, and said that they should immediately report if they wish to join any kind of economic company, association, or are perhaps members of any such venture. This has happened, and the checks are now being carried out. In the future, workers from the Interior Ministry, those working in services which belong to the framework of the Interior Ministry, will be able to work only in those economic associations which are not connected even indirectly with their jobs. [passage omitted]

It is my decision that in Hungary it is unnecessary for [word indistinct] individuals to keep self-defense weapons.

[Rangos] Will you take these weapons in, within a foreseeable time?

[Horvath] Parliament has to pass a law on this. I hope that this draft law will be accepted by the parliament by September or October. [passage omitted]

Up to now, it was the prominent people of the old regime who possessed them, and those who were committed to the regime; enterprise leaders, county council leaders, Interior Ministry workers, people from the party committees. I do not want to [word indistinct] their rather dubious and uncleared political past, by leaving weapons in their hands.

[Rangos] There are some weapons which are out there legally, not just self-defense weapons, but in more or less organized small groups. What will happen to these?

[Horvath] This is so. Most recently it was in the Industry Ministry where Mr. Peter Bod, during the course of a Ministry [word indistinct] visit, came across a kind of arsenal, which I immediately had taken away. These instances will cease. This kind of salvaging, which happens in this form, was a fabrication by Grosz and others. They armed an industrial guard—if I remember correctly—with a Council of Ministers' resolution, salvaging people, armed bodies and weapons. This will cease. [passage omitted]

[Rangos] Have you had time to look into the secret data of the Interior Ministry? Have you looked into the

network which helped the work of the Interior Ministry? What are you going to do with the system of informers?

[Horvath] Do not equate the Interior Ministry with the old 3/3 [secret surveillance department]. It was the old 3/3 which was somewhat blown apart. I say somewhat, because obviously this has an afterlife. It discernibly and [word indistinct] lives on. Its own force of inertia carries it on. A command was given out on the level of deputy minister and state secretary that documents should be destroyed. I consider it terrible that these documents were really destroyed, according to my information—that is, who was an informer, who was a plant. So, I cannot even check what kind of medium in which I am working, what kind of people there are working around me, or who was perhaps a man from the network, even in my closest circles of friends.

[Rangos] So you could not find out, there were no dossiers you could have looked up?

[Horvath] Unfortunately not, for they were destroyed. I say unfortunately I could not do this; at the same time I am rather relieved. I have said several times that I am sitting on a time bomb; well, this is one of the time bombs, for I am not at all sure that there are not perhaps photocopies of these, and they have not gotten into the wrong hands, and perhaps through their own interests, or political aims, they would bring this to light whenever they wish. [passage omitted]

[Rangos] There is another kind of network which is necessary for criminal investigation. Will this network be reorganized, or kept going? What are the plans in this regard?

[Horvath] It is my opinion that this kind of network is necessary. If, for example, a woman listener's child is threatened with rape, she expects the police to impede this. This is where network operations are needed. [passage omited]

Signature Campaign for Presidential Referendum

LD2206213190 Budapest MTI in English 1314 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 22 (MTI)—Tibor Soos, head of the Parliament Bureau, received on Friday (22 June) a group of representatives of the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP), on instructions by the acting speaker of parliament. The HSP delegates handed over another batch of some 40,000 signatures, initiating a referendum on the mode of electing the country's president.

The signature collecting campaign for calling the referendum was launched by the HSP and independent MP (member of parliament), Zoltan Kiraly. Under Hungarian Constitution, minimum hundred thousand signatures are required for parliament to call a referendum.

The first referendum since the Second World War was held in Hungary in November last year. This was initiated by the opposition alliance of Free Democrats in conjunction with Federation of Young Democrats, to decide on the timing of the presidential elections. The polling—with a minimum majority of votes—was in favour of holding the election only after parliamentary elections take place, (which were completed in March and April).

The mode of electing the president continues to be in focus of political battles. Acording to the law passed this week on the amendment of the constitution the president will now be elected by parliament.

The HSP representatives and Mr Kiraly however handed over the first batch of 173,000 signatures to parliament officials on Monday, urging the calling of a referendum on the issue. The signatures are now being authenticated by the collecting campaign continues, in order to make sure the required minimum of 100,000 authentic signatures are obtained.

MP's Discuss Soviet Troop Withdrawal

LD2106152190 Budapest MTI in English 1400 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 21 (MTI)—Information was heard by MPs at the Thursday [21 June] session of parliament's foreign affairs committee on experience gained by the ad hoc committee who conducted discussions with leaders of the Soviet Army on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary.

Members of the delegation reported that pressure was applied during the discussions by the Soviet hosts, when they stated that in case the Hungarian side fails to comply with its obligation to clear account after the vacation of each barrack, although the Soviet side will continue to keep the schedule of withdrawals but it will leave behind a sentry at the barracks.

The idea was also raised that in case the Hungarian side does not wish to assert a right to some of the vacated facilities these could be converted to joint ventures of Soviet-Hungarian-Western or Soviet-Western ownership. Opportunities arising in the development of medical tourism was mentioned as an example.

Members of the foreign affairs committee also urged the early joining of the [word indistinct] union. It was announced by Istvan Hegedus, deputy president of the committee, that the issue of collective or individual access to the union will shortly come up in parliament.

The committee also heard the ambassador designate to Warsaw Akos Engelmayer, and noted his appointment to the post.

Parliament Will Consider WWII Compensation

LD2406224790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 24 Jun 90

[Text] It is very likely that parliament will consider as early as next month legislation about compensation for

World War II prisoners of war and those taken into forced labor camps, said Arpad Goencz.

The interim president talked about this when he was unveiling a World War II memorial at Pakos in the county of Szabolcs, Szatmar, Bereg. The head of state said the measure of compensation will be determined by the country's capacity to pay.

In his speech, he emphasized that those who fell in the battles were not guilty, but were sacrifices at the altar of pointless politics, which did not serve Hungarian interests.

Industry Minister Interviewed on Economy

LD2306170690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 23 Jun 90

[Interview with Industry Minister P.A. Bod by studio announcer Erno Kardos on the "168 hours" program—live]

[Excerpts] [Kardos] Our first question is—to be exact—does the government have a short-term economic program, since this is not very clear from the parliamentary debates? Apart from the tightening of belts, when and how are we to experience something from this program? This was a question posed by a listener, Katalin Merklin, from Bekescsaba.

[Bod] It is very true that during the parliamentary debates, serious economic questions have not been discussed so far. But I think that when parliament completes the task of deciding the political role of the government, the listener will be able to hear more about the economy.

The government does have a privatization program. Prime Minister Jozsef Antall explained the details of this during his visit abroad. In specific terms, for example in the field of internal trade, there is a so-called preprivatization—perhaps this is not a fortunate choice of expression. This will take place during the summer; in the ministry under my direction they are now working on the wording of the bill. This will be very significant, because several thousand stores can become privately owned, so it will introduce changes which will be widely felt. So far privatization has taken place piecemeal, so now the process will gain considerable impetus.

[Kardos] To what extent, in your view, will this privatization involve the new stock exchange, which opened this week?

[Bod] We must admit the Hungarian stock exchange is rather small, and will not actually be a main instrument of privatization at first. The fact that the IBUSZ enterprise was sold is a good sign, but it also indicates—and this is also international experience—that the successful companies are those which can be taken to the stock market; IBM is being bought in the United States. The number of companies suitable for the stock market is rather small in Hungary. Obviously this will increase, but it can only be one of the instruments of privatization in the future. [passage omitted]

It would have been better if IBUSZ, as a well-known Hungarian company, had been floated entirely on the Hungarian stock exchange. The original plans were that the majority of the shares would be floated in Vienna, the rest in Budapest. There were several protests about this, from myself included, so the situation changed to the extent that the Hungarian stock exchange took an adequate part in it. [passage omitted]

[Kardos] How do you see the privatization of run-down companies? Can these be sold at all in Hungary?

[Bod] A lot of money can be made out of run-down companies as well, but obviously it would be better if we did not offer for sale those companies which are bankrupt. There are three forms of solutions here; to sell it to any takers, in this case obviously there isn't much state revenue from it, or to improve them if possible and then put them on the market, which is the Western European practice, which needs a little more time. In case of important companies, I think this will be the way. [passage omitted]

The government is working; if this does not show in front of parliament, it is because the legislative proposals in front of parliament are those which are necessary for the government and the parliament to be able to work together. One newspaper—and not one of my personal friends, either—wrote about my portfolio, that we made a [word indistinct] start. I am not trying to boast, but we have succeeded in setting up the higher administration of the ministry, deciding on the main functions, and we already made a couple of decisions, which the previous government had been avoiding for months, not wanting to face them. So perhaps in the following weeks information will come to the public. Already next week there will be information about the budget, to the economic committee and the parliamentary plenum, the economic decisions are coming in the following days, and weeks. [passage omitted]

ITU Says Nagy Does Not Represent Workers

LD2306024190 Budapest MTI in English 2047 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 22 (MTI)—The Democratic League of Hungarian Independent Trade Unions has sent a letter to Michel Hansenne, director-general of the International Labour Organization (ILO), on the occasion of the League's first time representation in the Hungarian delegation to the ILO conference.

The letter calls the director-general's attention to the fact that the contribution of delegation head Sandor Nagy, president of the National Association of Hungarian Trade Unions, is to be considered the separate position of an organization, namely the one he represents, but not the general opinion of Hungarian employees.

The letter voices the hope that over the next years, the interests of Hungarian employees will already be expressed undistorted at the ILO forums.

Patriotic People's Front Holds Congress

LD2406043790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 23 Jun 90

[Text] In the future, the Patriotic People's Front is to operate as a federation of social associations. At the movement's extraordinary congress, it was decided that the new organization wishes to help primarily in social tasks, rather than political ones. Apart from family protection and the social care of the elderly and the sick, it will undertake a role in educational development. Ferenc Gyuro, deputy rector of the Horticultural University, was elected chairman of the Federation.

Socialist Party in Budapest Reorganizes

LD2406043990 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 23 Jun 90

[Text] At its Budapest meeting of delegates, the Hungarian Socialist Party created a Budapest Party Council in place of the hitherto Presidium. The chairman is Lajos Matyas Szabo. Bela Katona, (Ildiko Lendvai), and Zoltan Szabo were elected as executives of the body. It is the task of the Budapest Party Council to harmonize and assist the work of the district party organizations.

Antall on Warsaw Pact, NATO Future

PM2206132490 Paris LE MONDE in French 22 Jun 90 p 4

[Report on interview with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall by Lazslo Lizskai in Budapest; date not given]

[Text] Budapest—In an interview granted to French newspapers, including LE MONDE, before his departure for Bonn, he frankly explained the reasons for the priority given to Germany: Of the $21 billion Hungarian debt, 40 percent is Japanese credit and 40 percent German credit.

"This 40 percent stresses the importance of the traditional relationship with the FRG," but he immediately added, "we want to develop cooperation in all directions, especially with France which we think should play a much more important role in this region of Central Europe."

Mr. Antall expressed the possibility of forming joint Franco-Soviet-Hungarian companies as an example, "if there is no serious crisis in the Soviet Union," he explained.

During the last Warsaw Pact summit in Moscow, Mr. Antall adopted an independent stance: Urged on by the opposition and the strength of the Hungarian people's feeling on this subject, he announced his intention to withdraw Hungary from the Pact within the next one and a half years and to stop participating in joint maneuvers.

But the prime minister admitted that he was not backed by the other members of the organization: "The Bulgarians openly advocated maintaining it. The Poles want to keep the military organization; the Romanians have not adopted a clear stance; the Czechoslovaks want to reform and strengthen the political role of the Pact at the expense of its military role. The GDR's attitude is determined by the German unification process."

The Hungarian Government leader, unlike Moscow, refuses to link a dismantling of the Atlantic Alliance—which, he thinks, is "not undergoing a crisis"—with any dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, which, according to him, is "outdated and pointless." In any case, Mr. Antall said, a "dissolution of NATO can only be requested by its members."

With regard to a unified Germany's future membership of NATO, Hungary is not opposed to it provided the Alliance changes its structures and offers guarantees to the USSR and the other countries which still have reservations about this, the Hungarian foreign ministry explained.

With regard to his relations with the other East European countries, Mr. Antall explained that he limited his talks in Moscow while attending the past summit to his Polish, Czechoslovak, and German counterparts, aside, of course, from his talks with Mr. Gorbachev and Mr. Ryzhkov. "I did not hope for much," he said, "from a meeting with my Romanian and Bulgarian counterparts."

Antall Meets With Kohl, Departs for France

LD2206085790 Budapest MTI in English 0639 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Bonn, June 22 (MTI)—Concluding his visit to the FRG, Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall left Bonn for Paris Friday morning. On Thursday, the last day of his successful visit, Antall held talks with Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl and visited the Bundestag late in the evening.

Rita Suessmuth, president of the Bundestag, greeted Antall as the representative of a country which had granted priority to human rights, making it possible for the GDR refugees to leave for the West.

In a statement after the talks, Chancellor Kohl promised assistance in surmounting Hungary's economic and financial difficulties. He reconfirmed without going into details that credit possibilities had also been discussed.

The Deutschlandfunk radio station said Thursday evening and Friday morning that government spokesman Hans Klein was expected to indicate on Friday the preparedness of his cabinet to guarantee a 800-million-DM credit for Hungary.

Arrives in Paris for Talks

LD2206100890 Budapest MTI in English 0905 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Paris, June 22 (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall arrived in Paris on a two-day working visit on Friday. On behalf of the French Government, Lionel Stoleru, state secretary of planning, greeted the prime

minister at Orly Airport. Antall drove to his residence in Hotel Crillon in downtown Paris.

At noon, the head of the Hungarian Government is to hold talks with French Prime Minister Michel Rocard, who will give a lunch in his honour. Antall is scheduled to meet President Francois Mitterrand in the early evening hours.

Meets With Rocard

LD2206173090 Budapest MTI in English 1442 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Paris, June 22 (MTI)—'France could play an important role in the region of central and eastern Europe. The history of Hungarian-French relations are not overshadowed by any political events to impede the dynamic development of cooperation,' it was stressed by Jozsef Antall, Hungarian prime minister, during his Friday meeting with his French counterpart, Michel Rocard

The two premiers, accompanied by their advisers, held an over one-hour discussion, which continued at the subsequent working lunch hosted by Mr Rocard.

Hungarian government spokesman Balazs Laszlo, had the following to say on details of the talks:

Mr Antall called attention to the necessity of handling countries of central and eastern Europe in a differential way, given the substantial differences that characterise these states besides their basically similar features. In his response, Mr Rocard stressed the French Government's readiness for this differentiated approach. 'We follow with close attention the diplomatic steps taken by the new Hungarian government and we support its intention of joining the Council of Europe,' Mr Rocard said.

Although Hungary cannot expect the same magnitude of economic aid provided by the FRG, Mr Rocard continued, since the country's economic situation does not allow for this. However, France is in the vanguard in several top technologies, which could create favourable basis for developing economic cooperation.

The personal meeting also provided an opportunity for dispelling a misunderstanding. Earlier on, the French interpreted statements by the new Hungarian government to mean that it advocates the simultaneous dissolving of both military blocks.

Mr Antall firmly denied this view and confirmed his position attaching fundamental importance to the Atlantic concept, in the course of creating the new European security system.

'The presence of both the Soviet Union and the USA is essential in this new system,' Mr Antall said.

Meets French Parliamentary Leaders

LD2206205290 Budapest MTI in English 1803 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Paris, June 22 (MTI)—Following the cordial meeting and working lunch with the French prime minister, Jozsef Antall called on the presidents of the two houses of parliament.

Laurent Fabius, president of the national Assembly, assured the Hungarian head of government that the French legislators would help the freely-elected Hungarian parliament in every possible way so that it could take advantage of democratic legislational practices.

The president of the National Assembly consulted the Hungarian prime minister on a number of concrete issues, such as the debate surrounding the way of presidential elections in Hungary, the pace of Soviet troops withdrawal and the Hungarian view of Romanian policy.

In connection with the latter question, Jozsef Antall expressed his concern over the Romanian developments, as regards both the position of human rights and the minorities, and the course of political development.

Afterwards, Jozsef Antall called on Alain Poher, president of the Senate, one of those who pioneered parliamentary relations between France and Hungary. They held a discussion on issues of cooperation between the two legislative bodies.

Meets With Mitterrand, Chirac

LD2206210190 Budapest MTI in English 1903 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Paris, June 22 (MTI)—Francois Mitterrand, president of the French Republic, met Jozsef Antall, prime minister of the Republic of Hungary, at Elysee Palace on Friday evening.

The meeting took place in the president's study. Antall was accompanied by Ferenc Somogyi, secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

After receiving the cordial welcome of Francois Mitterrand, the Hungarian prime minister started the conversation by outlining the experiences he had gained during the three weeks since he came into office.

During the short time allowed for journalists, the Hungarian [words indistinct] briefing about the country's home political situation.

Previously, Jozsef Antall met at his residence Jacques Chirac, president of rassemblement pour la republique (RPR) [Rally for the Republic], one of the parties which supported the admission of the Hungarian Democratic Forum to the European Democratic Union.

Antall, Mitterrand Note Improved Ties

LD2306022190 Budapest MTI in English 2043 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Paris, June 22 (MTI)—"The question of the European Confederation came up at our earlier meeting with Mr President Mitterrand in Budapest. Now we discussed this subject once again, together with various aspects of the minority issue in Central and Eastern Europe," Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall told MTI's correspondent after his talks with the French president.

"We reviewed questions of direct concern ot us, such as Hungary's impending admission to the Council of Europe, its relationship to the Warsaw Treaty and the relevant policy.

"We were pleased to note the improvement in bilateral relations. This is, of course, not the political ties, which are excellent, but the expansion of cultural and economic cooperation. Additional French investments seem probable in the economic sphere.

"To us, it is extremely important that France also has a stable footing in central and Eastern Europe," Antall said.

"We hold it important to intensify Hungarian-French links because relations were not always the best in the 20th century.

"Our party attached great importance to the development of Hungarian-French relations even back in opposition. Our government will invariably strive for particularly favourable cooperation, all the more as France used to have preferred links with other countries in Central and Eastern Europe. I think the situation will now at least be more in balance," the Hungarian prime minister said.

On Saturday, Jozsef Antall is to hold talks with Roland Dumas, minister of foreign affairs, Pierre Joxe, minister of the interior, and Jacques Attali, president of the European Investment and Development Bank.

He will call on Cardinal Lustiger, archbishop of Paris, and meet Former President Valery Giscard D'Estaing, president of the UDF Federation.

During his visit to Paris, Jozsef Antall is to lay a wreath on the memorial of Imrey Nagy and his martyred associates in Pere Lachaise Cemetery.

Talks Held With French Officials

LD2306162190 Budapest MTI in English 1507 GMT 23 Jun 90

[Text] Paris, June 23 (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall is accompanied on his visit to France by a number of state secretaries of his government. Several discussions were held by the Hungarian delegation on Friday and Saturday with senior officials of the French government, including economic and cultural representatives.

Dr Gyorgy Matolcsy, secretary of state of the prime minister's office, met with Lionel Stoleru, secretary of state for planning, who is shortly to pay a visit to Budapest. Mr Matolcsy also met with representatives of the French Ministry of Industry, to exchange views on opportunities of industrial cooperation. In addition, the state secretary paid a visit to the Paris Chamber of Commerce, where he discussed ways of furthering economic contacts.

Dr Janos Martonyi, state secretary of the international economic relations, met with Jean-Claude Paye, general secretary of the OECD. Hungary had established contacts earlier on with this organisation rallying 24 developed countries. Discussions were focused on how Hungary could join in the organisation's work in specific areas, and what assistance the OECD could offer Hungary in transforming the economy. Mr Martonyi also met with senior officials of the French Ministry of Foreign Trade and the Ministry of European Affairs.

Dr Karoly Manherz, minister of culture and public education, met for talks with Hubert Curien, minister of research and technology, and State Secretary Thierry de Beauch, who is responsible for international cultural relations at the Foreign Institute of Paris and also visited the Hungrology Centre at the Paris III. University, where Prof. Jean Perrot, director of the centre, outlined the research and education activity.

Visits French Industrialists Federation

LD2206220990 Budapest MTI in English 1339 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Paris, June 22 (MTI)—Jozsef Antall, Hungarian prime minister, who arrived on Friday [22 June] on an official visit to Paris, visited the headquarters of the French Industrialists' Federation.

Mr Antall was received by Francois Perigot, president of the federation, who stressed that French companies wish to secure important positions in the course of implementing the privatisation programme in Hungary.

Mr antall said, "we consider important the presence of France in the region of central and Eastern Europe, despite the fact that owing to historic traditions and the already existing system of relations our links will continue to be closest with neighbouring Austria and Germany."

Mr Antall requested french economic leaders to contribute to bringing economic contacts to a high level, to be in line with the good political ties.

Visa Requirement for Hungarians To End

LD2306132890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1200 GMT 23 Jun 90

[Text] After his negotiations in Paris, the Hungarian prime minister announced that France will abolish the visa requirement vis-a-vis Hungary. Specifically at issue are journeys shorter than 90 days which will not require permission to stay. The measure will take effect within a few weeks—allowing time for the elaboration of technical details, Jozsef Antall said.

The Hungarian prime minister held talks with Roland Dumas, French foreign minister, and the president of the European Investment and Restructuring bank.

Antall Ends Visit to France

LD2306222190 Budapest MTI in English 1815 GMT 23 Jun 90

[Text] Paris, June 23 (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, concluded his two-day visit to France on Saturday afternoon [23 June] and left Paris for Budapest.

Mr Antall was received by President Mitterrand, and also met with Prime Minister Rocard, including many other members of the French government, leaders of political parties and senior representatives of French political and economic life. Prior to the Paris visit, Mr Antall paid a visit to the FRG.

Before the departure a lunch was hosted in Mr Antall's honour by former president Valery Giscard d'Estaing, chairman of the UDF [Union for French Democracy] party alliance.

At the working lunch held in a cordial atmosphere, talks centered on relations between the two parties. The UDF had established contacts with the Hungarian Democratic Forum earlier on, and now the sides expressed their intention to further strengthen inter-party relations.

Mr Antall and his entourage arrived in Budapest late Saturday afternoon.

Antall Summarizes Paris Visit

LD2306214790 Budapest MTI in English 1605 GMT 23 Jun 90

[Text] Paris, June 23 (MTI)—The French Government is to abolish the practice of obligatory visas with Hungary, for visits of less than three months in duration.

This was mentioned in first place by Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, in summing up his two-day visit to France to a group of Hungarian newsmen. Mr Antall said he was informed about the French decision during his Friday meeting with President Mitterrand. The measure is to be implemented prior to the tourist season, and details will be cleared in a matter of days.

Great interest was shown for arising investment opportunities and the founding of joint companies in Hungary, by the federation of French industiralists, Mr Antall continued.

Of the 2,000 million francs export financing credit line, offered by the French Government, 0.9 million will be made available this year. The credit can be utilised not only for the purchase of french goods, but the agreement allows the import of necessary equipment for operating the joint companies from other sources as well.

The additional French aid of 50 million francs for supporting the setting up of small and medium-size companies can be expanded substantially, the French Government expressed readiness to make available fresh resources continuously for this purpose. The necessary banking background is to be created, Mr Antall said.

The French side is to facilitate the development of Hungarian education, including training and re-training programmes for implementing the government's economic programme. French experts are to provide assistance in surveying the country's requirement for technical re-training schemes.

An agreement was also reached on the exchange programmes for university students and teachers, the organisation of managerial courses to suit the requirement of small and mediums size companies. France is also ready to provide assistance in training Hungarian banking experts and the launching of language courses.

Hungarian public administration officials will be provided an opportunity to study municipal public administration methods at French institutions. Assistance is also to be provided for bringing Hungary's outdated statistical and balance drawing system to a European standard.

An agreement was signed with French minister of interior, Pierre Joxe, about the offer of French assistance in the creation of municipal public administration system in the wake of the forthcoming municipal elections in Hungary, and assistance in the democratic reorganisation of the Hungarian police force.

Speaking about the political discussions, Mr Antall said relations between the two countries were brought to a higher level after talks held with President Mitterrand, Prime Minister Rocard including other senior politicians and government officials.

'I don't believe our relations have been better in the course of history, than at present,' Mr Antall continueud.

The problem posed by the situation in Romania was raised by each of his French negotiationg partners, Mr Antall said. The internal situation of the Soviet Union was also a principal subject during talks on international issues. Another subject in focus at each meeting was Hungary's position on european security and the state of negotiations over the Warsaw Treaty Organisation.

Mr Antall also spoke about his meeting with Cardinal Jean-Marie Lustiger, archbishop of Paris. The cardinal is a

person well familiar with tasks of modern church. Furhtermore, he is aware of the situation of the Hungarian church, and is due to pay a visit to Hungary shortly.

Mr Antall held an over one-hour discussion with Roland Dumas, French foreign minister, on international issues and the development of bilateral relations. Talks with Interior Minister Pierre Joxe were focused on abolishing the practice of obligatory visas and promoting contacts between public administration authorities and the police force.

Jacques Attali, newly appointed president of the European Reconstruction and Development Bank, in charge of aiding new democracies in central and Eastern Europe, told Mr Antall that the bank is planning to set up its independent affiliate in Budapest. The Hungarian side will draw up various programmes in anticipation of the affiliate's opening. Credits to be provided for this purpose could be utilised for financing programmes like the modernisation of certain districts of the capital.

Cooperation With FRG, France

LD2406121790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0630 GMT 24 Jun 90

[Interview with Prime Minister Jozef Antall by Miklos Martin-Kovacs at Ferihegy Airport in Budapest on 23 June—recorded]

[Text] [Kovacs] I think that at such a time, everybody is very curious to know what it is that you were able to bring back from the dinner table?

[Antall] I think that this would be an over-simplified formulation, though it is engaging. A government delegation of this kind must open up the way and also prepare the way for bilateral talks which will be led by the various competent ministers. Naturally, independent of this, there are also specific results from such a trip.

However, I would like to stress that the real significance of the trip is that the government implements both its domestic policy, its economic policy, and also its foreign policy steps in a very thought-out way, and according to a determined program. I say this because it is precisely a month ago today that I was elected prime minister, and it can more or less be said that in this one month, certain people have expected the government to realize so many things. They roughly considered that the deficiencies, backwardness, or bad measures of the 41 or so years should be dealt with in one month; asking more than once what the government was doing in this month.

During this one month, according to a preconsidered program, in addition to participating in the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee—and there I can safely say that our position on foreign policy, military policy, and policy on security received exceptional international attention—we conducted bilateral negotiations with the Soviet Government.

It is clear that while we are working on our specific immediate economic program, we had to know and assess exactly what our position is with regard to the Soviet Government. We also had to clarify what the CEMA still means, and this whole East European region, and to also approach this from a different angle—what support we can get, and what kind of relations we could build up with Austria, the FRG, and France.

Naturally, the first trip had to be planned in accordance with this criteria.

[Kovacs] Do these Western states respect the fact that Hungary—after several decades of being closely linked, and breaking away from a large empire—wishes to be sovereign?

[Antall] I think that breaking away from the large empire has gradually come about. In any case, they appreciate this. Naturally, the great Western powers are also looking at what effect Hungary's foreign political steps have on the steps tto come, which are of international import, including the Vienna arms reduction talks; or from the point of view of the European security and cooperation system, or what our steps mean in the process of German unification. Hungary is considered a political front runner in this, and which—as a matter of fact—played an outstanding role in changing the status quo. We undertook and continue to undertake this role.

[Kovacs] Recently you outlined an intention or the need, perhaps to a certain extent, to counterbalance our ties with West Germany. When you held talks about relations with France, were you able to realize this?

[Antall] I would say that the FRG has until now been our number one partner in the Western world. The GDR to an absolute degree was the third, but within the East Bloc the second. Consequently for us, a united Germany will play an outstanding role. However, the issue that we have to build on is a balanced economic policy and a foreign political system—this is natural. In this sense, too, it is very important that France is our partner on the rise. In the same way of course as Germany, France is granting us maximum help. I can give you one example: the modernization of the police, which is of particular importance from the point of view of Hungarian public safety. It is not of minor importance that two such states as the FRG—and certain provinces within the FRG—and France will give us direct help in the development of a democratic police force.

Antall on Visit to FRG, France

LD2506014190 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 24 Jun 90

[Interview with Prime Minister Jozef Antall by unidentified moderator on the "View" program; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Moderator] Mr. Prime Minister, in your statement to the FIGARO magazine, you said, among other things, that we wish to become members of the EC, even if we know that our present process of transformation most resembles waiting in the dentist's waiting room. To

ask you, following the same analogy, have you succeded, at least, to get some painkiller during your five days, either in the financial or in a moral sense?

[Antall] If we develop the analogy further, than it is certainly possible. The painkiller, of course, does not take affect immediately; however, one could place in the painkiller category the fact that in both Germany and France, we received substantial help in the area of credits. We have hopes of success and real possibilities in Bavaria [Bajororszag] and also in Baden-Wuertenberg. Several such agreements were considered, which will be especially significant in the support of small- and medium-sized enterprises, and the same in France. In addition, to counterbalance the decline in the Hungarian deposits, certain stopgap loan possibilities will also be avaliable.

[Moderator] Did you consider these credits during the preparation of the government program? Or do they perhaps provide some new opportunities for the government?

[Antall] Naturally, for the government program, we had to take this into consideration and we counted on it, since this was not the first time that I had met Chancellor Kohl. Among the politicians concerned, French Prime Minister Rocard is the only one whom I had not met earlier; I have met all the others personally. During previous discussions preceding the formation of the government, I had already been given the promise that if we come into the government, they would give every support. This every support, of course, must be understood within the bounds of reality.

[Moderator] On every occasion, or at least a great many times, you have assured your negotiating partners about the stability of the Hungarian internal political situation. Why did you feel this necessary?

[Antall] It is obvious that the Western world has a certain reservation about the whole of East and Central Europe, you could say a kind of East European syndrome, which means mistrust. Many—and in the financial world especially—in many places judged the political power in East-Central Europe to be uncertain. This applies to the Soviet Union in particular, and it is natural that the political crises within the Soviet Union, combined with the economic crisis, is regarded as a factor that could have an effect on the whole of the region. Not particularly encouraging is the situation in Romania, or the economic situation of Bulgaria. Naturally, I don't want to list further the individual countries; there are uncertainty factors everywhere. There are factors that are linked with nationality or other internal political problems, and it is very easily said that there is a need to be cautious about investments in East-Central Europe. I can also say that a problem such as a referendum, or questions that reflect on fundamental political stability, these are immediately raised during negotiations, and it is asked several times whether a problem—such as the collection of signatures, or a referendum—does affect the stability of the country.

[Moderator] And what did you reply to this?

[Antall] Obviously I replied that this can take place, but I stressed that in Hungary, there is a government coalition in power which is based on an absolute majority. The coalition has a nearly 60-percent parliamentary representation. Parliament accepted the constitutional amendment which reduced the two-thirds regulation, and the Constitution is now satisfied with the absolute majority in excess of 50 percent. This by itself is an instrument of political stability. I also mentioned that in the Hungarian Parliament, after the usual parliamentary debates or usual starting problems... [Antall changes thought] And in Hungary, the multiparty Parliament was formed after more than 40 years, after all—so there are several manifestations of inexperience, but this does not mean that Hungary does not have the conditions for political stability.

[Moderator] Did you, for example, have to explain your foreign policy credentials? Since your government is compelled by parliamentary decision to leave the military organization of the Warsaw Pact. This, however, is not only the affair of Hungary and the Warsaw Pact but also touches on the question of European security. Did they understand our intentions in this respect?

[Antall] Naturally, they did understand our intentions, and obviously, in theory, they also sympathize with us. Concerning the doubts, what they generally regard with concern; if for example, the Vienna disarmament negotiations were affected by the calculations of the military strength, in the mathematical sense they are counting according to the blocks. We of course assured our negotiating partners that we would not endanger the disarmament negotiations, or the process of German unification, or any other negotiations of international importance by any unilateral steps and without negotiations. During our discussions, foreign policy was emphasized in particular. What I would like to stress in particular, since our relations with Germany are very clear, is that within this, we had to sort out the changes that took place in the GDR, which deprive us of significant exports at the moment, and where a significant decline can be expected, how can the united Germany even this out? But apart from this, our German-Hungarian relations are very good.

[Moderator] In contrast to this, to say it politely, Hungary in this century was not at the forefront of French foreign policy. Is there any change?

[Antall] I think the change is very great, and during our discussions this was exactly the aim, to establish with France closer links than we ever had before, or not to such an extent, during our history. This is expressed in the readiness that we had experienced. Having said that, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Romania stood closer to the French in the past decades, past centuries. Sympathies do not, of course, have to be reduced, we do not wish this, and they stressed that towards Hungary, they wish to show sympathy that cannot be in any way less

than towards the nations mentioned. On the contrary, the French wish to increase the support for the spreading of French culture, their interests, and what I want to emphasize once more, very significant economic, technological, and other support. Concerning the questions of minorities, I could mention, as a matter of interest, that not only did President Mitterrand place great emphasis on this, but also Giscard Destaing, who invited me to lunch today in his apartment. In the course of this conversation, we again returned to the question of minorities, and he said that he wishes to place emphasis on this issue. It is well known that in European politics, he still plays an outstanding role; he questioned me in detail, and I listed the size of Hungarian minorities living in the neighboring countries, their position, and our ideas in this regard. This continued to have a place in our discussions. I think the relationship between Hungary and France entered a new period, and my visit to the bishop of Paris, [name indistinct], was not without interest either. How the cardinal values a church under renewal, the cardinal who is one of the outstanding figures of the Catholic Church today. [passage omitted containing personal questions about how Antall felt as a visiting prime minister, compared to his earlier visits as a humble historian]

Thatcher To Visit Hungary, CSFR in Fall

LD2506094590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] Margaret Thatcher will visit Hungary in the fall.

According to the DAILY TELEGRAPH, which is close to the British Government, the prime minister is probably going to visit our country and Czechoslovakia in September, to see the results achieved so far by the changes in East Europe.

The prime minister appreciates the efforts being made by the East European countries in the interest of democratic transformation.

Agreement With Norway To Abolish All Visas

LD2506102590 Budapest MTI in English 0946 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 25 (MTI)—The Republic of Hungary and the Kingdom of Norway have agreed to abolish all visas as of July 15, 1990. The relevant agreement was signed on Monday by Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky and Norwegian Foreign Minister Kjell Bondevik in Budapest.

On Monday, the Norwegian foreign minister placed a wreath at the monument of Hungarian heroes in heroes' square.

During the day, Mr Bondevik is to meet Arpad Goncz, interim president of the Republic. Mr Jeszenszky will then host a lunch in honour of the Norwegian foreign minister, who will also meet members of parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee in parliament building.

RMDSZ Leader in Brussels News Conference

LD2306223990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 23 Jun 90

[Text] The Hungarians of Transylvania have begun an offensive in West Europe for better understanding. In the Hungarian House in Brussels, journalists questioned Geza Szocs, general secretary of RMDSZ [Magyar Democratic Union of Romania]. Our reporter Istvan Erdelyi was also at the meeting.

[Begin Erdelyi recording] Geza Szocs, general secretary of the RMDSZ, answered questions. The Hungarians in Romania and their organization, which got into parliament, the RMDSZ, has no intention of entering into a coalition with Iliescu-led powers. Would they be willing to do so with other parties? He replied that first they would have to know their specific program. He added that he personally is in sympathy with the Liberal Party led by Campeanu.

The journalists present welcomed the fact that the Hungarians in Romania continue to fight for independent, Hungarian language education from nursery school to graduation age. Several people asked Geza Szocs about Hungary's role in the changes. Geza Szocs said that just as the official Hungarian government policy, the Hungarians in Transylvania have no separatist or territorial demands. The borders are permanent, the Hungarians in Romania expect to live their life there, in Transylvania. [end recording]

Government News Conference on Current Issues

LD2206215890 Warsaw PAP in English 1644 GMT 22 Jun 90

[By PAP correspondents Jan Rozdzynski and Mariusz Zakowski]

[Text] Warsaw, June 22—Government spokeswoman Malgorzata Niezabitowska used the term "accelerators" to describe the participants of the Centre Agreement, the new leadership of the citizens' committee attached to the Solidarity chairman and the chairman himself.

Niezabitowska and Finance Ministry official Marek Dabrowski who took part in her weekly press conference presented a broad statement in which they rejected the Centre's accusations of "slow government action." Other topics touched upon during the conference included the declaration of the two German states on the Polish border, the visit of Lithuania's prime minister in Poland, the graves of Polish officers in the USSR, the anticipated effects of planned price hikes and the latest developments in the citizens committees movement.

Centre Has No Alternative Program

Niezabitowska said that the Centre Agreement had no alternative program of changes to that of the government one, "it does not have anything which one could take issue with," she said. She recalled the government's legislative initiatives in the last nine months, the reforms in all ministries and central institutions, including the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of National Defence and Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Dabrowski added that the accusation of too slow transformations were absurd in the context of the changes taking place in the Polish economy and used examples to back this from various fields. Only the privatization process lags behind but this is not caused by the government's stand but protracted work in the Sejm (Lower House), Dabrowski pointed out. [transmission interrupted; PAP take 2 not received]

Graves of Polish POWs in USSR

Niezabitowska characterized the action of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs aimed at discovering the fate and burial sites of Polish officers in the USSR who were treated as prisoners of war during World War Two. Presenting the latest information (e.g. the mass graves near Kharkov and in Myednoye and Lugansk), Niezabitowska announced that the Soviet side had agreed for a small group of the Polish Red Cross to come to Kharkov and that the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs was awaiting a reply from the USSR to the proposal that an official Polish delegation arrive there to examine the graves and circumstances of the death of the Polish officers. All seems to indicate that these were inmates from two camps: Starobyelsk and Ostashkov.

Soviet Troops in Poland

Asked how long Soviet troops would be stationed in Poland, the spokeswoman recalled that the Polish Government was interested in their total withdrawal from Poland but "in a peaceful manner", after the creation of a collective security system.

"Stiffer" Trade With Soviet Union?

Dabrowski labelled as an "interpretation of the Soviet press" and "move in trade negotiations" the article in the Soviet Monthly ARGUMENTY I FAKTY which held that trade between Poland and the Soviet Union had become "stiffer." The Soviet Union wants to include Poland's trade surplus into Poland's debt owed to it while Poland does not agree to this.

Liberal Trade Policy

Replying to questions about the concerns of Polish farmers over the possibility of imports of low-tariff foodstuffs from the West (e.g. German pork), Dabrowski stated that the government would not counter this. He accentuated the government's determination in pursuing a liberal trade policy.

Energy and Postal Price Hikes

Dabrowski expects prices of consumer goods to increase by a one- digit index in the wake of planned high price hikes of electricity, gas, postal services and radio-tv subscription fees as of July 1.

Government's Political Base

The greater part of representatives of respective local citizens's committees backed the government at the meeting on June 17 in Warsaw. Just exactly what political backing the government can count on will turn out during meetings of representatives of these committees on June 30 (convened by Zdzislaw Najder) and July 1 (convened by Henryk Wujec).

Mazowiecki Not Invited Thus Far

Asked by PAP correspondent who would attend the June 30 meeting from the government side, Niezabitowska stated that so far Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki has not been invited to the meeting.

No Changes in the Government

Niezabitowska denied suggestions that changes were planned in the government in the wake of the recent meeting between Lech Walesa and the leaders of the PSL Polish Peasant Party Roman Bartoszcze and SD Democratic Party Aleksander Mackiewicz. She stated that Mackiewicz, as a member of the government and minister of the internal market has not accelerated his action to the extent postulated in the communique following the meeting.

Other matters

Niezabitowska also stated: the TV "Wiadomosci" news bulletin and Lech Walesa's bureau have an agreement which practically excludes any manipulation of his statements for television.

—The Atomi tics Agency is drawing up a project of modernizing the nuclear power plant in Zarnowiec which would make it safer. Another referendum will most likely determine whether construction on the Zarnowiec plant will be resumed.

—The government's aim was not to 'beat up' farmers in Mlawa but to restore order which is a normal activity and obligation of the authorities,

—A Polish plane carrying aid gathered by the Ministry of Health and the Polish Red Cross for the victims of the earthquake in Iran will leave for that country tomorrow.

—The government does not know anything about mercenaries recruited from the former SB security service being sent to South Africa.

Mazowiecki on Safeguarding 'Fragile Achievements'

LD2406205690 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1805 GMT 24 Jun 90

[Speech by Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki at a meeting with Szczecin residents on 24 June—recorded]

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen, inhabitants of Szczecin, dear friends!

I am here for the Day of the Sea in order to greet all those people linked with the sea, and especially to greet Szczecin, an important, a decisive—I would say—the center of the Polish marine economy. However, I wish to speak of matters which do not concern you alone; I wish to speak of matters which concern the whole country. Szczecin is a town in which, perhaps more strongly than elsewhere, one feels the relationship between foreign policies and domestic problems. That is why I would like here—taking advantage of your invitation—to take a stand on matters relating both to our country's foreign and domestic problems, which are of interest to the whole of our society.

The international situation has been, for many countries, a source of opportunities and hopes for national aspirations. For us Poles, for several centuries now, the international situation has been a source of perpetual menace. We have been forced to seek security in desperate attempts at agreement with one or the other of our neighbors, using the two-enemies strategy [as heard], searching for far-flung allies, who were not very interested in the issue of our security. Our mighty neighbors influenced, in a overpowering way, our national life; they resorted many times to aggression; they removed Poland from the map of independent nations for over 120 years. The result of this external tragedy, which conditioned the fate of our nation, was the 45 postwar years of subordinate, nonsovereign statehood. After such historical experiences it is quite understandable that we look very carefully at any possible sources of menace threatening the security of our country, the oneness and inviolability of our borders. That is why the break with the bad legacy of enmity is of such great significance for us, as is having a relationship with our neighbors based not on the theory of two enemies but, on the contrary, on the everyday practice of close cooperation both with the USSR and with the Germanys, in such a way that our geographical situation might have a chance to become not a curse but an opportunity for Poland.

For the past year we have been living in a different world. For this world to exist the struggle of the Poles was necessary; our unceasing pull toward freedom, a freedom of which Solidarity is the latest and most glorious chapter. Of great significance for the implementation of our aspirations were the changes introduced by Mikhail Gorbachev in the Soviet Union and in his foreign policy: the abandonment of the imperial policy, which found its place in history under the name of the Brezhnev doctrine. For the past year we have been living in conditions of freedom, in a sovereign state whose policies are drawn up in Poland and in Poland alone. [applause]

But the sovereignty which has been regained both in internal and external matters has, paradoxically, brought about a feeling of being under threat and in uncertainty. For 45 years we have lived in the enslaved world, but this was a world in which our individual, and even more so our collective fate, seemed predetermined. Our fate was dwarfed, and it seemed that the chances for it to change were none. However, in spite of what various domestic and foreign pessimists said, it appears that we are (?capable of regaining) freedom and independence. This is a great and historic achievement of our generation. Freedom means that new, hitherto unknown, chances of sorting out matters at home have appeared, in line with what we want. The government I lead sees as its task the creation of conditions in which our society will be able to take advantage of these chances. The freedom also means the unavoidable arrival of questions, of dangers, with which we did not have to deal for decades and which naturally cause anxiety.

Such questions, feelings of uncertainty and danger, appear both with regard to our situation in the world and our internal affairs. Such a feeling of danger has occurred in our society in connection with the prospect of the unification of Germany. I have stated many times, as have other representatives of our state, that we treat with understanding the process of unification of Germany.

This is a matter of political wisdom and ethical principles. The final elimination of the cold war and the division of Europe require the unification of Germany. Our position has its source also in the conviction that every nation, therefore also the Germanys, has the right to self-determination, a right to decide its own fate. The

satisfaction that accompanied the fulfillment of this moral principle in politics was linked to an uncertainty as to the intentions of the future united Germany, especially concerning the territorial changes that have taken place between our two countries as a result of World War II.

I will not recall here in detail our demands or speak about our efforts to achieve full treaty guarantees for the invoilablity of our borders, for the intactness of our country. We demanded this from both German states, we expected this from the international community, especially from the super powers co-responsible for the order imposed in Europe after the war.

Our position did not, at first, always encounter understanding everywhere. It was considered that our demands were anachronistic since there is no danger of reborn German expansionism. Sometimes, however, thanks to our efforts, understanding for Polish rationale has grown. An expression of this is the invitation extended to Poland to take part in the conference of the two German states and the four great powers, where the subject of German borders and the security of their neighbors will be discussed. An expression of the understanding of our position was the awareness—ever more present in the world and in Germany itself—that the Federal Republic should unequivocally state its position with regard to our western lands.

The effect of this is in the declaration recently passed by the parliaments of the two German states on the security and unchanging nature of the Polish-German border. We welcome this act with great satisfaction. We see in it a significant foundation for the future relations between our countries. We also expect that in accordance with the logic of the politics demonstrated by this declaration, a treaty will be worked out and agreed, before unification takes place, between Poland, the FRG, and the GDR, which would legally regulate the question of our relations. At the same time we understand that such a treaty can be finally signed and ratified by the parliament of the united Germany.

The issue of relations with Germany has played and continues to play an important role in the formation of government policy. As for Germany, we look above all into the future. We think with appreciation about the dynamic nature of our western neighbor and its achievements. We look with respect at the democratic institutions which in the FRG were shaped after the war and which have passed the test of time. But in order to really concentrate on the future, in order to be able to build the commonwealth of interests, to deepen the neighborly understanding and trust with the country which in a natural way is placed on our road to Europe, the issue of borders must be finally closed by our two countries.

Ladies and gentlemen! Dear friends!

The freedom which generations of Poles have dreamed of and for which we have paid a high price, gives us great opportunities. We can take advantage of them to build a base for national rebirth. But we can also waste them as a result of a lack of will, and not respecting the most important matters, and choosing a road which leads to an historical wilderness and not toward Europe. It is my duty, that of the prime minister of the republic—a political and moral duty—to speak openly of these things. These dangers were not obvious at the beginning when we secured the possibility of deciding our own fate. The strength of common experiences, the unity of thought in striving for a new Poland, and the quiet certainty that we were going in the right direction have given us uncommon strength, the strength of a free nation. To take this road was not an easy task because of fresh and also less vivid memories of repressions, lawlessness, humiliations, discrimination, and arrogance. We have, however, decided that such an agreement is necessary for the good of Poland.

Moreover, those who were our enemies yesterday have acknowledged this road and have gained merit by opening it. Over a year ago, the roundtable agreement gave us the chance to come out of the blind circle of hatred, impotent aggression, and social apathy. Today, on the Polish road to democracy, we have greatly surpassed this agreement. This agreement was our point of departure, not the goal of arrival. Such a goal is the construction of democratic Poland, the Poland which gives a chance to everyone. [applause]

The proof of the extraordinary maturity of our society was the reception given to our economic decisions, which were aimed at rescuing the economy. The nation has approved the program of profound changes leading to the social market economy. I have never promised that this would be a straight and painless way; quite the contrary, I spoke about its hardships and the price that we must all pay. Only people unaware of the dramatic character of our situation can give promises, people who are ignorant of the enormity of the challenge we face, people who think that the door to modernity and prosperity can be opened by picking the lock.

It is my moral and political duty to warn society today against the easy temptation to leave the road we have embarked on and to waste the results already achieved.

The freedom regained creates the chance of constructing a democratic Poland, with local self governments, a Poland with every- increasing numbers of social, cultural and also political organizaions, which are filling the emptiness left by the totalitarian state, the emptiness between a lonely man and the monster of a repressive state. The freedom regained gives us the chance to carry out a real economic revolution, which will take us into the circle of economically civilized states. But the freedom also opens the possibilities for our bad inclinations, for the Polish hell which I have already mentioned in public before. This hell is disregard of the common good, the good of the still fragile achievements, and the good of our own state. We do need critical faculties, and nobody, the government in particular, can be free from criticism. But it would be the defeat of all of us to lose the

perspectives, to weaken the attention which should be directed on main guidelines, the good of the country and the good of us all. [applause]

Of course, I think that Poland should move toward the system that has developed in the democratic countries of Europe, the system of many different organizations and parties. However, I also know that the immensity of the tasks with which we are faced demands that today stress should be laid on the fact that we must, together, get through the most difficult period, the period of the most painful sacrifices. This demands a broad, democratic consensus and abandoning a demagogic auction of offers. [applause]

Here are a few basic elements of this democratic canon, which must be obligatory for everyone. Above the good of the group, the organization, and the party there must come the interest of the country. [applause] Without an accord on the basic shape of the democratic institution and the necessity for the law to be observed by everyone, and without a common agreement on the character and the program of the reforms, disaster will befall not only this government but also every other government that could possibly take its place. Worse than than—disaster may befall the great opportunity of Poland. [applause]

Our public service also aims at creating examples for civic attitudes, for democratic, open, and tolerant attitudes which would respect the opponent in his differences, and which would perceive unity over divisions. The quality of our public life today constitutes and must constitute an expression of responsibility for the future of democratic Poland. [applause]

The nation will not forgive us if, at the time of this transitory period so difficult for us all, we forget about the most important things. For the first time in a very long time Poland, having already achieved independence, has the chance to rise to being a lasting democracy and to achieve modernity in a unified Europe. Having won the struggle for freedom we must win the fight for our national maturity, for the future of Polish democracy. [applause]

Mazowiecki on Conflict With Walesa

LD2506015490 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 24 Jun 90

[Excerpts] In Szczecin, Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki has taken part in central celebrations of the Days of the Sea, which coincided with the 40th anniversary of the work of the Szczecin-Swinoujscie port team. [passage omitted]

During his visit to Szczecin, Tadeusz Mazowiecki also spoke to members of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity Regional Board. Asked about the conflict with Lech Walesa, he replied: I am not a party to this conflict; I am only its subject. I would very much like these matters to become depersonalized, so that they should not be regarded as a conflict between people. This program, in my opinion, depends on whether there should be a democracy in Poland to which we will all subordinate ourselves, including the most meritorious persons, and operate on this basis, or whether democracy should be subordinated to the most meritorious persons. I take the stance that we must build a lasting democracy in Poland, to which all must subordinate themselves, emphasized Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, during a meeting with Szczecin Solidarity.

Geremek Denies Walesa, Mazowiecki 'Problem'

LD2206193490 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] In a statement for the television news, Bronislaw Geremek said that there is no Walesa-Mazowiecki problem. However, there is a problem with how Poland is building democracy.

[Begin Geremek recording] I wish to say, first of all, that what is a problem in our lives is the situation of the farmers, the workers, the pensioners, that here there are conflicts and that these are dangerous and large. On the other hand, I have the impression that problems between people are being exaggerated. There are no conflicts between people, or at least I would say as a sort of nonprofessional politician, that we come from a movement which fought for a change in Poland, and this movement continues to serve this change. I treat all quarrels and conflicts as of secondary importance. Well, we are standing at this time on the threshold of an important week. I hope that the meetings which have been announced will not deepen the conflicts but rather will solve them. Whether my hope is realistic, we shall see in a week's time. [end recording]

Walesa on Refusal To Talk With Miodowicz

LD2306032390 Warsaw PAP in English 1549 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Gdansk, June 22—The Press Bureau of the solidarity chairman has presented the following item to PAP:

"In connection with the recently intensified activity of the OPZZ [National Trade Union Confederation] leadership which calls for consultations between all trade union milieus on planned government price hikes, Lech Walesa's Press Bureau states that this is an initiative with a clearly political lining.

The chairman of Solidarity has not planned to meet Alfred Miodowicz in the nearest future, until the issue of the return of the solidarity assets seized by the OPZZ is settled. That is why the present initiative of the OPZZ chairman must be treated as nothing else but a precisely designed political move. If Lech Walesa were to agree to talk with Miodowicz and make any arrangements with him, he would lose out among his trade unionists. If he does not agree he will give the OPZZ side the argument that he does not care for workers interests but only for his own career.

"In this situation the Solidarity chairman cannot make rash decisions until the time he receives the results of

consultations of the price hikes now being conducted in the respective regions of the trade union led by him."

Walesa KO Meeting in Warsaw Reported

LD2406125790 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 24 Jun 90

[Excerpts] Today the Citizens Committee [KO] attached to the chairman of Solidarity began its meeting at the University of Warsaw to consider the future of the Committee in relation to the changes in Poland. Editor Andrzej Jelenski is observing that meeting: [passage omitted]

[Begin Jelenski recording] The meeting was opened by Zbigniew [as heard] Najder, who directs the Committee, and next the floor was taken by Lech Walesa, who announced a general confession, and this was precisely what the meeting is meant to serve. The Solidarity chairman emphasized that the present political climate is unhealthy. A great victory has been achieved and now we are not capable of utilizing it. Too many people have forgotten, Lech Walesa emphasized, that the most important matter today for all of us is Poland. If we remember it, then we will all have the chance to build a democratic republic. He declared himself in favor of the need to accelerate the democratic changes in Poland, the need for a pluralistic acceleration, warning against another political monopoly. The solidarity chief set off a sharp discussion, calling Jerzy Turowicz [one of the main authors of an alliance for democracy to form political support for the Mazowiecki government], the editor in chief of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, into it, demanding an explanation as to what kind of changes the people, who took part in the recent meeting in Krakow, want in Poland, in the Republic.

Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, the Lower Silesian Solidarity chairman, started a sharp attack, a virtual onslaught, on Walesa. In his retort, Walesa emphasized that he is not interested in anyone's monopoly and that for him the most important thing is Poland, the homeland.

The Solidarity chairman also came out in favor of not dissolving the KO, which ought to be the forum par excellence in which most varied views can be presented and clash, so that the Republic can really be democratic. Walesa pointed out that he is not attacking the government and is not attacking Premier Mazowiecki, and is for acceleration, as the current political alignment in force in the Polish state due to the roundtable is not a reflection of the (?real) political landscape. He also emphasized that political pluralism could be a good thing for Poland, and he will not retract that position. Poland needs pluralism in politics and in the economy. The debates continue. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Solidarity Meeting Ends With 'Split'

AU2406183490 Paris AFP in English 1825 GMT 24 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 24 (AFP)—A meeting of Solidarity leaders here Sunday ended in a split between supporters of trade union chief Lech Walesa and Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

Sixty-three people quit the 250-strong Civic Committee, formed in December 1988 to act as a "shadow government" while the Communists were still in power.

They put their names to a letter read out by Solidarity's former underground chief Zbigniew Bujak which denounced Mr. Walesa's "authoritarianism" and said there was no reason for the continued existence of the committee.

The critics included leading lights of the former opposition including Bronislaw Geremek, Adam Michnik, Jacek Kuron and Wladislaw Frasyniuk.

Recently, Lech Walesa launched scathing attacks against Masowiecki, Poland's first non-communist premier in over 40 years, accusing him of failing to press on with political and economic reforms.

Walesa Address to Citizens Committee Session

LD2406193690 Warsaw PAP in English 1806 GMT 24 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 24—Following is the abridged text of an address delivered here today to a session of the citizens' Committee by Solidarity leader Lech Walesa:

For the past ten years I tried to carry on this struggle of ours. You, who are gathered here, and other groups—shipyard workers, dockers-helped me a great deal in doing this. We won a glorious victory and all deserve appreciation for this. The struggle was refine [as received] and produced a success.

However, today, we are at the crossroads. Today, we can actually move things forward but at the same time we can waste our victories. That is why I would like us to talk about all that is going on in our country. An awful lot of misunderstanding and an awful lot of irritation have amassed.

I try to do exactly what I have obliged myself to do before society, I try to implement all our assumptions, not paying attention even to colleagues. And now I hear that my teachers among whom I list, for instance, Mr. Turowicz who taught me how to be a pole and patriot, have doubts as to our intentions.

This and other things appear in the context that we want to destabilize the country, that we are threatened with splits, that we undermine the premier and the government. How could this happen? In this connection and in connection with the programme which was presented here I would suggest a universal confession.

We are censored, and to me this happens very often, which I regret to say. The news I am getting, the context I am being presented in, is an irony. This is contrary to intentions.

For example, yesterday or the day before yesterday the government press spokesman took the liberty to say "this accelerator with an axe."

Ladies and gentlemen, this is a scandal. If anybody has any doubts concerning acceleration, I would like to tell you that when I proposed that special powers be granted to the government, this was exactly acceleration. And here we have the context in which I was presented to the world—as a man who attempts to overthrow democracy.

We must understand each other. After this confession it will be easier for us and Poland to understand what is going on and where the dangers are. I invite you to this confession and would like Mr. Turowicz to take the floor first. I would like to hear your claims and problems, how are we to go hand-in-hand with Poland. I want all the doubts which have appeared and which irritate Poles to be immediately explained, made available to the public in Poland—and this time they will be made public in full. Let Poland hear where Mr. Turowicz's problems are, where Walesa's problems are, where Poland is.

I was told that you said that it was necessary to defend the government of Mr. Tadeusz Mazowiecki. And I shall answer you. In the words, Mr. Mazowiecki's government is protected, in the deeds, it is not. There was Slupsk, there was Mlawa and the shipyard five times. Nobody defended Premier Mazowiecki, nor the government nor the reforms there. Where were you? In the declarations. And the time of declarations is over. It is time of work and concrete things now.

Farmers in Mlawa, to whom 'Scots' were sent, were right, they were ill treated. They delivered milk, thinking that in June they would get 550 zlotys (per litre-ed). They came to get their money and were given 200 zlotys. It was a cheat and what more they were given notices that in June they can deliver their milk on their own responsibility, It means that they may not get anything.

This is mocking at the working people. One must not behave like that. This is not a Poland I wanted to build. Mr Turowicz Poland is waiting for your claims to Walesa and democracy.

Citizens Committee Protests Walesa Decisions

LD2406210390 Warsaw PAP in English 1932 GMT 24 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 24—During today's debates of the Citizens' Committee operating at Lech Walesa [as received], a letter was read out which was handed over to the Solidarity leader by Zbigniew Bujak on behalf of 62 members of the committee.

The letter reads: "The Citizens' Committee at the leader of the independent self-governing trade union Solidarity already has its own history. We tried to do our best to cooperate with you in the reconstruction of the legal existence of Solidarity, in formulating aspirations and tasks of our society, in preparing for negotiations with the government or, finally, in the election campaign. We cooperated on the principle of mutual respect and confidence.

"We must say that your recent decisions on appointing and recalling committee members from their functions violated this principle. We are of the opinion that the Citizens' Committee at the Solidarity leader has fulfilled its tasks and that there is no need to continue its activity.

"We are convinced that the movement of citizens' committees which we have initiated and which coordinates social, political initiatives in local communities will be able to determine its organizational needs and the mode of existence all by itself.

"We express to you, Mr Chairman, our gratitude for the past years of cooperation and we assure you of our readiness for concerted actions for democratic, independent Poland."

Citizens Committee Members Air Complaints

LD2406223890 Warsaw PAP in English 2022 GMT 24 Jun 90

[Excerpts] Warsaw, June 24—The dissolution of the Citizens' Committee at [as received] Solidarity leader Lech Walesa was expected by many today. Results of the seven-hour stormy debates were difficult to foresee. The more so that, as it was disclosed during the session, 62 outstanding activists of the committee sent a letter to Walesa, saying that the committee "has fulfilled its tasks and there is no need to continue its activity."

However, the committee did not dissolve itself and, following the motion of the Solidarity leader, decided to meet in a month when emotions are held down.

The committee accepted the resignation of Henryk Wujec from the function of its secretary. A new, acting secretary will be appointed by Zdzislaw Majder, who was authorized to supervise the work of the body in the coming month.

Before discussion Walesa called on all the participants to start a universal confession after which it would be "easier to understand what is going on in Poland and what threats are posed," as he said. [passage omitted] The Solidarity leader proposed that Jerzy Turowicz, editor-in-chief of the TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY weekly, be the first to confess.

"Confession" of Turowicz

After Walesa's extended persuasions Turowicz took the floor and said that the Cracow initiative was not aimed against the Solidarity leader. Last weeks' developments, however, aroused concern. We thought that movements on the political scene, called acceleration, threaten with disturbing the political set-up. It is not the Mazowiecki

government but its philosophy that requires an immense support on the part of entire society, Turowicz said. [passage omitted]

Adam Michnik

In this room Polish democracy is in danger. Until today we have moved together but it is just now that one must clearly say: We must divide, and this must be a programmatic division. We may be deprived of the (Solidarity-ed.) logo and name but nobody can deprive us of our biography, our struggle, and even you, Lech, cannot do it.

Zbigniew Bujak

The committee was supposed to advise the Solidarity leader to make him wise with the wisdom of other people. At present, the role of the committee is changing and I am running short of room for myself on it. I think that there are not many presidents or emperors who have so many photos with so many outstanding people as you have, Bujak told Walesa, referring to last year's election posters.

Andrzej Wyielowieyski

One must say that the Solidarity leader has recently made grave mistakes which are dangerous for all of us. They have sharply increased social unrest as two basic elements of balance have been disturbed, namely, the new moral climate in the country and concerted actions of people who have become authority.

Aleksander Hall

I respect Lech Walesa very much but I, personally, do not regard him as a good candidate for president.

As for me, Walesa replied, I would not see Aleksander Hall as minister in a future government.

Jaroslaw Kaczynski

I will also display civil courage and say that Tadeusz Mazowiecki, considering all his merits, is not suitable for being president. Currently, the most important plane of the dispute is the issue of acceleration, he stated.

To Continue Activity of Citizens' Committee

Divided were opinions as to the future of the committee at the Solidarity leader. Most participants in the discussion came out in favour of the continuation of the body's activity, assuming the changed formula of its operation.

If somebody attempted to dissolve the committee, this would mean the betrayal of Poland. Even if we were to fall dead, we must sustain this body, escort it through the Polish hell and rifts, Walesa concluded.

More on Citizens' Committee Session

LD2506090290 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Excerpts] What next with the Citizens' Committee (KO) attached to Lech Walesa? What will be the future of the KO's regional movement? What next with the young Polish democracy? Those were the main questions asked during the Solidarity chairman's KO meeting held yesterday at the University of Warsaw.

During the discussion various options in the citizens movement emerged. Adherents of one of them are in favor of dissolving the committee attached to Lech Walesa and in place of that body they would like to introduce a federation of regional KO's. The parties of another solution think the citizens movement ought to be left in its existing form. Another group of debaters see a purpose in the simultaneous existence of the committee attached to Lech Walesa and the federation of regional clubs.

Personal inclinations for settling accounts emerged in the heated discussion. Sixty-two activists of the KO attached to Lech Walesa signed a letter to the chairman read out by Zbigniew Bujak. [passage omitted] Zbigniew Bujak, Broniuslaw Geremek, Ryszard Bugaj, Henryk Samsonowicz, Andzej Wajda, and Father Henryk Jankowski, among others, announced their resignation from participation in the work of the committee.

Considerable emotion was caused by discussion as to whether and against whom the government of Tadeusz Mazowiecki should be defended. The Sunday meeting did not result in any substantive solutions. Those gathered unanimously accepted Lech Walesa's proposition to meet in a month's time when emotions had settled. A resolution was accepted obligating Zdzislaw Najder to present a draft statute of the KO within a month.

Walesa Interviewed on Promoting Pluralism

LD2406152690 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 24 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Whether you like it or not the difference in opinions within the Polish political elite is a fact. Many people think that this division is quite simply a natural process in a democratic state. We want to present to our listeners Lech Walesa's opinion, expressed on Thursday during his conference in Wejherowo, and that of the government's spokeswoman, who spoke at a conference on Friday. Lech Walesa:

[Begin Walesa recording] I justify my point of view about what is going on and what I have caused by the fact that I am deadly afraid of monopolies; and as a result of the fact that today I observe that Solidarity, Citizens Committees and finally those splendid people, Bronislaw Geremek, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Michnik, Wujec and others, are not capable of, and do not want to either wrongly or poorly govern society. There is just one thing: We've overthrown the communists and we're

taking their place. If we're taking the place of the Communists, then why should we be better than they are? Of course it is not a question of us, but that others will come to take their place; that is, it will be more or less as follows: Marx and Lenin, (?they are ok), that is us at the present moment, after us Stalin will come and will take advantage of our stupid system. [sentence as heard] Being afraid of all that, I would shake up the leaders, so as to look for system guarantees, to look for pluralism. People say, o.k., but political parties are not being created. Well, I ask the question: Are we helping those parties and that pluralism or not? I think we are not helping. We would like to have everything in our hands and say that we are governing well. I do not agree to that and obviously my fight is with my colleagues, but who am I supposed to fight, Mr. X? Am I to force Mr. X to accept pluralism? That would not achieve anything.

When I shake Michnik up, when I shake Wujec or someone else up, then those people are going to have to think, to comport themselves in a different way, and enter the road of pluralism. In connection with this, so as not to repeat the ugly thing similar to the communist one, the system has to be constructed, and I want to start building it already. [end recording]

In the last few days several leading Polish politicians have put forward their own vision of Poland, sometimes contradictory, sometimes contentious. Could you present you own vision of Poland, the one for today?

[Begin Walesa recording] I would have to ask you in what position you see me. If as the chairman of the Union, it is a somewhat different vision of my fight, of my work; if as prime minister, that is also another vision of my work; if president, it is also a slightly different vision, as the point of view depends on the point where one is sitting. Sometimes the mass media do something like this to me. I discuss things with you, I take the floor, I scoff at someone, and they let go at me, that as a president what's he (?prancing around) like, or how is he behaving? That is a mistaken conception. One behaves differently in the bathroom, differently in the kitchen, and differently when I talk to the president.

And now I'll tell you about the vision. Precisely, I am thinking which one? I will start with the greatest one, the presidential one. The most important thing concerning foreign issues, if I were in that position, would be to liberate ourselves from the friendly army, to permit the army to leave so that the country would be completely free. That would be my main aim. The second aim—I told the Soviet ambassador this—is that I would not ask whether we are to have access to our eastern (?tracts), only how we are to do that, so that the path would be open to our ancestral past, to our remembrances, and thus not whether, but how. Naturally, there is also the question of the unification of Germany. I have an idea, but at the moment I don't want to speak as a president but I only want to point out to you that I also know something about this and think something about it, and if it should be necessary, I shall say those things which I have to say.

If it is a question of domestic matters, naturally the main issue is a slightly different approach to the reform program that is being introduced. And thus far achieving privatization, of course not everything can be done; we cannot for example introduce contract work for surgeons as they'll catch us on the street and cut off our legs; we cannot also introduce contract work for hairdressers, as they'll cut quickly and cut ears off. And thus all this must be within the limits of normality, based on logic, based on life. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Walesa on 'Good Will' Toward Government

LD2206045390 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Text] Lech Walesa, the independent self-governing trade union Solidarity chairman, today held a meeting with journalists as well as with residents of Wejherowo. Here is a statement by the chairman transmitted to us by television in Gdansk:

[Begin Walesa recording] We created such a Polish idea, which is called the Citizens Committees. It was our way of overcoming the communists, and today it could be our Polish way to achieve a pluralist, mature democracy. I think that our political achievements, which includes the Citizens Committees, need not be restricted to the immediate needs of support for the government. That force, which is to be found in the Citizens Committees, can be utilized for enrichment and development, not for creating uniformity in some block. That is why we are meeting on 30 June to discuss this matter. We are meeting openly and in a businesslike manner. Mr. Jacek Wozniakowski [government deputy spokesman], following talks with the prime minister and myself, said that there was no conflict between Mazowiecki and Walesa. I agree with that, and I'll say more: No volunteer corps needs to defend Prime Minister Mazowiecki from me. I think I give proof of this, as when necessary I help without any questions and without thanks, as in Slupsk and Mlawa. It is only a question of us better understanding each other. And I am here declaring good will for a better understanding.

The government says it needs help and support. A specific program should be supported, specific work. Not everything done by all the ministers deserves to be supported. In any case, the best support is willing cooperation based on understanding.

The government ought to explain to us more frequently and better what it is doing and why it doesn't do various things, for example why in the ministries and offices the old Nomenklatura has imposed such a work style, such a way of treating people. [end recording]

Walesa Interviewed on Political Ambitions

AU2506060190 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 20 Jun 90 pp 4, 5

[Interview with Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa by Anna Bikont; place and date not given: "I Do not Want To Become President, but I Will Have To"]

[Text] [Bikont] You could have become a Sejm deputy and then chairman of the Citizens Parliamentary Club [OKP] instead of Geremek. You could have become president instead of Jaruzelski, or prime minister instead of Mazowiecki. Do you think it would have been better for Poland if you had taken on one of these roles?

[Walesa] I have not left the game. I have merely given Mazowiecki Lubanski's No. 10 position and Geremek Gadocha's No. 11 position [Lubanski and Gadocha are Polish soccer players].

They should not complain about the way I pass the ball to them, but they would prefer me to discuss every single pass beforehand, shouting: "Bronek, Tadek, here is the ball."

They tell me to stop playing. But I will play and am in the match whether they like it or not.

The Maradona From Gdansk

Sometimes I might pass the ball badly. Then they can say: "That was a good pass, but we see a dangerous situation, so we must do some dribbling, kick the ball to the right, or kick it out of play." Why should anyone say straightaway: "He passes the ball badly. He messes up the game because he has no advisers." I pass the ball well, but the one who receives it scores with a kick instead of a header. Then the spectators whistle not because of the way I have passed the ball, but because the ball was kicked.

[Bikont] You might pass the ball, but you are not on the soccer field, so you do not obey the rules of the game.

[Walesa] If everyone received good passes from me, there would be no conflicts. I have passed the ball: the withdrawal of Soviet forces. Mr. Mazowiecki is not prepared. He ought to say: "Even Walesa is saying that the forces ought to be withdrawn. We understand that there is a German question; we cannot do anything, but we realize such a problem exists." Then everyone would profit by that. But instead, they say about me: "That was a stupid reply. He is upsetting things; he is irresponsible." And then a conflict arises, because I have to reply to these people: "It is not I who passed the ball badly. It is you who do not know how to receive it in such a way that nobody loses."

The President With an Axe

[Bikont] Does Poland need a president like Bush, who has strong powers, or one like Von Weizsaecker, who only has moral authority?

[Walesa] When everything starts to crumble, one has to consider whether a president is supposed to rule, or whether he is supposed to indulge in courtesies and choose according to the concept.

Today, when we are changing the system, we need a strong president with an axe; one who is determined, harsh, and frank, one who does not fool around and interfere with democracy, but who immediately fills the loopholes. When such a president sees that the people are taking advantage of the change in the system and are committing robbery, he issues decrees that are valid until the Sejm adopts a resolution. If I had such powers, I would save half of Poland from being robbed. After all, discussing things in a democracy is so time-consuming that crafty people easily have their own way.

[Bikont] You have described the president as if you were describing yourself.

[Walesa] Yes, to a major extent. The situation requires that a president be fast, that he be capable of foreseeing a situation and blocking any unfavorable development, but he must not be opposed to democracy and the government.

[Bikont] You said in an interview for the Dutch ELSEVIERS in April: "If the Germans lead to a destabilization of Europe after their unification, it will be necessary to erase Germany from this map." You have an uncontrolled tongue. It is bad enough to say something like that when one is a common citizen, but it would be a disgrace for a president to say it.

[Walesa] That was deliberately distorted by the journalist. Look at it this way: When I argue with strikers and lead a rally, that has its own rules. And later I translate my strike language into diplomatic language. The fine words that I spoke, words that suited the previous situation, are distorted and transposed to the new situation, and then the journalists make it look as if I am not suited to the new situation. Therefore, news conferences are different from diplomatic appearances by the president.

Similarly, I have nothing against kicking the ball to your GAZETA. Only I do not want to do it here. They criticize me for not being able to talk to presidents? I have talked to presidents already, and they want to talk to me.

[Bikont] So, what about the presidency?

[Walesa] I do not want to be president. However, I will have to become president.

I am going to put things in order now; that is, I am going to raise a storm, a war at the top. I want to be the victor in this war, so that the generals join me and so that we set out on the path of pluralism once again. This will have to be made clear. So, to make it clear, I will set up—in accordance with the congress resolution—a "Solidarity" daily paper.

However, I am not sure whether I might not have started the game too soon. But, I just have this great fear of monopolies—not a monopoly set up by colleagues, but one that their successors might set up—and that if I do not end up in prison again, then my children definitely will. That is what happens with every monopoly in the end.

I have no choice. I will have another try, and this time I will be looking at marked cards.

[Bikont] Are you planning a revolution?

[Walesa] I will bring about proper elections. I will expose any kind of double dealing. I will not allow any fast shuffles, even at the expense of my friends.

[Bikont] Will you win?

[Walesa] I might lose, but the Polish reforms will win out.

[Bikont] There were three proposals about elections dates: The first was made by Geremek at the OKP—not later than 3 May 1991. The second was made by Najder—fall elections. The third was made by the Center Accord—the current National Assembly should elect a president first, and then we should choose a new parliament. Which solution do you think is best for the country?

[Walesa] First, it is not true that the first proposal was Geremek's. That is not the way that you should put it.

It was a mistake not to have seized that moment just after the Communist Party was disbanded. Elections should have been announced right away, regardless of the cost.

[Bikont] Does this mean that you are in favor of having elections now, as quickly as possible?

[Walesa] It is not worth it now, because the current term will be over soon anyway. If it does not become necessary to hold the elections sooner, then there is no point in scrapping the existing scenario.

I was counting on my friends to bring things forward. The economic effects were unpredictable, and because of this we had to ensure broad social participation in government so that there would be acceptance of the government through that participation.

[Bikont] The local government elections were meant to broaden the social base and encourage people to be active.

[Walesa] But what we said was keep quiet because the best people are in government and just hold on. However, a lot of pressure has been building up because of the lack of participation. My colleagues put forward the mistaken idea of carrying on according to the scenario that I put together.

The Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] men in the Sejm are afraid and they are making an effort—I recognize all of that—but that majority is not a majority in society, it has no base, and the trappings of that bygone age are getting on people's nerves. Albania will overtake us.

It was also a mistake on my part to count on the brilliance of my colleagues. They have their arguments: We are brilliant; we are concerned about the economy and the standard of living. But, the road to hell is paved with good intentions. We have the best people occupying the best posts, but that is not a substitute for structures. They forget that the people who will come after them will not be as brilliant as they are, as upright and patriotic.

Against PZPR "Solidarity"

[Bikont] Who will run in the parliamentary elections?

[Walesa] There will be a lot of chaos—150 parties. We will gradually go over to the European way of doing things, and it would be best if the parties were to have the same sorts of names: the socialists, the Christians, the labor party.

[Bikont] But these names that are used in the West are often just conventions. What we will have for the foreseeable future are our bush-league parties, which—as the local government elections showed—have marginal support, and the Center Accord.

[Walesa] How naive can you get! You say that the climate is not right for parties. But, the question that I would ask is: Are we a help or a hindrance? It is our top brass that is the hindrance, because of our razzing, railroading, and because we are stronger!

[Bikont] Who is proving to be a hindrance, and in what way?

[Walesa] It is a question of "Solidarity's" symbol used by the committees and deputies and senators nominated from above. I intend to change this. We shall chose local people, even though they may be worse. One word of caution: I do not want to see people re- registering from Warsaw to the regions.

[Bikont] In your opinion, what new groupings are likely to emerge before the elections?

[Walesa] Geremek and Michnik consider economic matters to be the priority, and they would like us all to march together through the Polish wasteland. We are marching together. However, Geremek is to march as a professor, Walesa as an electrician, and Adam as a newspaper editor. I fully agree, it is necessary for everyone to proceed under their own banner.

I think that some people will not be able to do it, and a center- left group will appear. But who knows, the "all-together" approach might prove victorious, because the left is in no state to be a true left. The left will end up on the losing side if it does not come under "Solidarity's" umbrella, and the left does not like losing.

[Bikont] Do you think that this center-left is a party that Geremek and Michnik might form?

[Walesa] Yes, a kind of center group, but somewhat to the left. Why are they not forming such a movement? They prefer the Front of National Unity approach, namely, "Solidarity." What do you think?

[Bikont] I think that the divisions are not between left and right. These are false divisions.

[Walesa] Because we do not want them to be there. And what if we did?

[Bikont] I personally do not want it, because I do not feel close to the left, or the right. I hold a vision of Poland in which "Solidarity" ideals prevail. A Poland that is tolerant, open, a kind of Poland described by Jerzy Turowicz.

[Walesa] But let us define it in this way: We have a center- left, a center avan-guard, and a center rear guard. Why should we play the role of a Front of National Unity, why should "Solidarity" play the role of a PZPR? We can chose to stay in "Solidarity," in poverty, but we cannot act as an umbrella organization. Let us define our slogans, let us congregate according to them, but I shall be on the opposite side.

[Bikont] Your charisma stemmed from the fact that you kept yourself aloof of divisions. Lately, you have begun to identify yourself with the center-right movement.

[Walesa] This is more akin to my character. Above all, it is my acceptance of divisions. Everyone who fudges this issue is against me.

Whose Committees?

[Bikont] In your search for pluralism have you not in fact gone insufficiently far, rather than too far, by dismissing Wujec? If you had suggested that the Citizens' Committee should be wound up, all the local committees would have then been able to define their own roles and begin uniting.

[Walesa] Wujec would like me to dissolve the Citizens' Committee. He is counting on the fact that the local committees might go over to him and Geremek.

[Bikont] Some of the committees, for example, the Elblag and Gdansk voivodship committees support the Center Accord, while some, defining themselves government and OKP supporters, keep sending telexes voicing their support for Wujec. The committees would probably begin to go their own ways.

[Walesa] Yes, but what would the final result be? Geremek and Wujec would have their committees, and I would be left without any. If this happens I shall begin a great rebellion and take everything that I can.

[Bikont] You maintain that Wujec poses no threat. What are you afraid of then?

[Walesa] I fear that it is a hidden form of monopoly.

[Bikont] What is the aim of the Citizens Committee? Is it to be a shadow parliament, or is it to prepare the upcoming elections?

[Walesa] Poland's transition from one system to another is very difficult. A Citizens' Committee that admits all groupings by co-opting them is logically necessary, if we are to avoid all the wrangling. The committee is intended to be a great forum where all groupings can jointly elaborate proposals, not decisions, as to the general outlines of Poland's democracy.

I personally can aspire to such great things. Lech Walesa is after all, Lech Walesa. He is the only one with a Nobel Peace Prize, and can rightly aspire to serve Poland.

[Bikont] In one of your conferences in April you said: I shall be gently pressing to create something like the Citizens' Committees nearer to Solidarity, and these committees would occupy themselves with politics. One committee would be Christian, the other to the left. Is this still a fact?

[Walesa] Any day now we shall see the formation of a leftist movement in Krakow, or Warsaw.

[Bikont] You persist in calling the editor of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY a leftist?

[Walesa] Certainly, even though they would deny it.

[Bikont] What do you think of the Krakow initiative, the meetings organized by Jerzy Turowicz?

[Walesa] Geremek and Michnik will play in these meetings, but they will not actually be there. A wonderful idea, is it not? I have no choice. It is interesting to see who will have more people after I have had my kick. They will calm themselves down. These are fine players, but they do not belong to these times. Let them remember one has to play according to the rules.

[Bikont] Where are these rules being broken?

[Walesa] The first meeting took place the day before the Citizens Committee meeting. Why? I was never invited. And yet I have to meet with the secretary whom they have imposed on me. God, why does it have to be like that? Probably because I do not belong to the Warsaw group.

I am a man who knows how to use chances which often come as a surprise. They do not know how to do that. How was Kisz czak supposed to become premier? Mazowiecki wrote that one cannot move from "Solidarity" to the premiership.

Questions for the Big Men

I asked these big men: "What were your greatest moments? You think it was some written statement, or some additional point in the statute." But the biggest point was when, in 1980, Borusewicz, Gwiazda, and others said democratically that one must thank Mazowiecki and Geremek from

the Gdansk Shipyard, deprive them of their letter of support, and let them return to Warsaw. I said "no," and that is when my dictatorship began.

If I had not played that way, Mr. Mazowiecki would still be a journalist for WIEZ, and Geremek would not be Geremek. Thanks to my autocracy, Badkowski and Gruszecki were allowed to join the union authorities without the appropriate resolution from the "Solidarity" Presidium. It is these elements that built "Solidarity," but they did not do so democratically. Democracy was offended because the intelligent people in the shipyard were all foremen and technicians, people one associates with financial swindlers and others. That was what society's consciousness was like at the time, and I built the union in spite of it.

The most important moment at the roundtable occurred when I said: "Either Kuron and Michnik will sit with me at the table, or there will be no table." The date for the roundtable was postponed by several weeks. But everyone who believed in the propaganda nonsense saw that these men were not demons, that they were pleasant and excellent. This was my achievement, despite the recommendations of the most distinguished politicians. Mazowiecki and Geremek wanted to install their own colleagues. They have no feeling for politics.

The latest strike is an example of one of my beautiful moves, which no one noticed. I went to Slupsk and collected from everyone a signature certifying that the strike would end. Then a gentleman came in, saying that a certain railway man who was on hunger strike and in the hospital was threatening to commit suicide. Another man came in, saying that Slupsk would never agree to my terms. I said: "In that case, I am going." I could have handled these two arguments, but I let others play.

I waited for one, two hours, but the government did not react. The ball that had been passed was traveling on its own. These arguments—I had stated them in public—could have been exploited, and a victory would have occurred. The wonderful opportunity was not taken. I had to return and end the strike.

Then I heard that the strike would have ended in any case. There was no understanding for me. I was told I was too ambitious and only wanted to gain advantages, thus thwarting the ambitions of others.

The strike would not have ended, because there was a whole army of people opposed to its ending. What is most important is that the railway men did not emerge from this strike morally defeated. But who understands that?

However, when I mention this fact, they say I want to be president. And they say I am after greater ambition, in case I lose it altogether. But who am I being punished for? For the government, parliament, and them—but not for myself.

The shipyard has tried to rise and protest several times. Twice there was a wheelbarrow prepared for me; the first time it was upholstered, which would not have been so bad, but the second time it was not upholstered. And that was not because I had not fulfilled my obligations, but because my friends had not done so.

[Bikont] But that is not so clear, because opinion polls show that Mazowiecki is losing a little of his popularity from one month to the next, but far less than you are.

[Walesa] If I were a procrastinator, I would appear once a year, and I would also not lose anything. But I have to appear more often than that because of my function. I end strikes, and give news conferences once a week. Sit down, do nothing, and you too will have a better position.

The people who write me letters do not like me on account of their small pensions and insufficient wages. I am losing my popularity on account of the level of unemployment, because I am considered to be a supergovernment, yet I cannot even replace the secretary of the Citizens Committee.

I do not come to the OKP, I do not impose myself. I do not want their OKP, because that would be undemocratic. But they want my committee. They are the ones who are acting undemocratically. Am I right?

[Bikont] No.

[Walesa] That is sad. We will see. The OKP wants to capture the Citizens Committee.

[Bikont] Henryk Wujec was made secretary by the Citizens Committee, not by the OKP.

[Walesa] He was chosen on my recommendation. After all, the Citizens Committee meets at the invitation of Lech Walesa: I sign the invitations every time.

It happens with all the foundations that I have set up. I can set them up, and then I have no say. So, who does not trust whom? These are mafia tactics. It is one-way democracy. I am a semi- chairman: I can appoint people, but I cannot recall them. Who got me into this situation? My colleagues, and now they are griping about me.

Who Is To Have "Solidarity"?

[Bikont] I would gripe about you recalling my editor in chief.

[Walesa] But I am to have some influence on that, and then a company has been set up.

[Bikont] The company has been publishing GAZETA WYBORCZA since the first issue. It appears on the front page.

[Walesa] I never knew that I was appointing Adam to a company. Journalists often ask me which companies I belong to. They must have thought that I am making a bundle out of the "Agora" company.

So, Miodowicz also has a right to stick "Solidarity" on his door, because he was a member of "Solidarity."

[Bikont] You have already talked about Miodowicz in the context of GAZETA WYBORCZA. I understand that you wanted to offend us, and it really did upset us.

[Walesa] So, what is the difference?

I want to take "Solidarity" away from GAZETA WYBORCZA to conserve it. It was the banner for the fight against the Reds, and you want to sully it. We should conserve it for future generations and get down to work under different banners.

[Bikont] Is TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC to be the standard bearer for this banner? When you made Jaroslaw Kaczynski editor in chief you said that personnel changes were essential, because the union organ cannot be part of the Mazowiecki infrastructure and the weekly should be more of a union paper. Is TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC part of your infrastructure? Do you think that it keeps to the union line?

[Walesa] TYGODNIK SOLIDARNSOC is completely independent. I am pleased that it thinks along similar lines as me, and that it wants to broaden pluralism and democracy. We are on the same wavelength, and I like that. There are some slipups; there is too little on union affairs. The paper explores, it is incisive, and I identify with that, with its militancy, its searching. Mistakes are always made when you are searching, because there are no familiar routes.

[Bikont] It would seem that with the exception of Frederick Forsythe, everybody who writes for TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC is a member of the Center Accord. How does this tie in with being the "Solidarity" organ?

[Walesa] A lot of people from the OKP have sat where you are sitting now and asked to join.

The Leader of the Nation or the Leader of a Grouping

[Bikont] You are the Center Accord's chief trump card. Apart from wanting you as president and fast, they are ready to agree to Mazowiecki and the Balcerowicz plan. Instead of being the leader of the entire nation, this casts you in the role of unofficial leader of one grouping. This bestows credit on the Center, but does it do the same for you?

[Walesa] According to the views of those that you represent, it is a pity, but from the Polish perspective, it is not. I am the reform catalyst.

Were it true that I just want to advance my career, then I would never have launched the attack on Michnik and Wujec. I would have looked for endorsement in those circles and would have been wooing them to get their help. I am putting my own career on the line, because I do not like the system that we are creating and I am fighting for a new one at my expense. I am sacrificing myself for Poland's good.

[Bikont] I also think that you are acting in a way that harms you, we just differ in that I do not see how this benefits Poland.

[Walesa] That means that a sort of blissful peace is a good thing. Do you mean that I am not suitable? So, why I am doing what I am doing? We are sick after the old system. How many people did Reagan dismiss? We have to learn how to step down.

[Bikont] But you are not the president yet.

[Walesa] Is the premier called a dictator? After all, he dismisses people.

[Bikont] That is one of the premier's prerogatives.

[Walesa] And I am not allowed to have that right when it comes to TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC. A premier has these rights, and similar opportunities must be available to a chairman. The regions choose whoever they want to; editors—well, I am not allowed to choose them; I issue invitations—I am not allowed to do that too. Oh gentlemen of the mutual admiration society, there is just too much of this!

I Cannot Be a Mere Figurehead

[Bikont] You talked of a danger of a citizens' committee monopoly. In Gdansk, committee candidates won overwhelmingly. They got 59 local seats out of 60. Many well-known local people from Gdansk, devoted to the city, some with "Solidarity" experience, formed an alliance to safeguard the city's interests. Why did you not fight for pluralism in your own backyard? Why did you not support these people?

[Walesa] I did support them. At the committee's meeting I stressed: Remember, do not construct a "Solidarity" monopoly. But in Gdansk this is impossible. People believe in me and that is why they vote for "Solidarity," even though I may be speaking out against it. In other places it may produce results. If not, I am prepared to go, but I do not know which such moment would give Adam the most pleasure. Possibly, if I were to go now.

[Bikont] When we discussed your moves against Wujec and Michnik in our editorial offices nobody was thrilled. There was no fear or elation that we were going to war with Walesa himself. We were saddened. I think that many people see these conflicts in the same way. You are playing a game that people do not understand, and this frightens them.

[Walesa] I wanted to quietly reach agreement with my colleagues without frightening people. I have always been persuaded to make concessions. How does it look if Wujec continues to refuse to coordinate things with Najder? In reply, they say that Najder was not properly appointed. Who had the right to appoint? I did, and certainly not Geremek and I have the right to dismiss Wujec.

[Bikont] I think that this is very badly interpreted. This is not your private backyard.

[Walesa] I issue the invitations.

[Bikont] This is a public arena.

[Walesa] Everybody gets an invitation and I invite additional people.

[Bikont] Ernest Skalski has said that your words have many people feeling like children whose parents are about to divorce. It is immaterial where the fault lies, there is only a feeling of great sadness and anxiety.

[Walesa] And when I undemocratically put forward Geremek and Mazowiecki? It was alright then, was it not? Now everything is being done to keep me away from decisions. Why are you blaming me?

[Bikont] Because I think it is your fault. You have launched a frontal attack on people close to you, on devoted friends. You speak of war and eggheads. These are words which are hurtful, stir up anxiety, and destabilize.

[Walesa] In Puck, I gave a definition of democracy: a war between everybody. For three months I pleaded with Henio Wujec: It is impermissible that you do not coordinate things with Najder. Wujec did not listen. I had no choice but to dismiss him. I could not remain a mere figurehead, and I shall never be one.

I want to leave the Citizens Committee, but I shall only do so when the committee has been put on a proper footing. It has no internal regulations to this day. There are people like Henio Wujec who are brilliant, but for clandestine work. They do not work according to the law in present times. They cannot adapt to new principles. Nor will they fit into the times that are coming.

Newspaper Front Pages

[Bikont] Your popularity ratings in the Western press are falling. In LA REPUBBLICA, Paolo Garnberti, head of the paper's foreign desk wrote: Walesa has launched himself into a crusade against the intellectuals propelled by a wave of popular dissatisfaction. Eastern Europe needs everything, with the exception of new Perrons such as Yeltsin or Walesa.

[Walesa] Some people's influence reaches very far indeed. Why do you not mention Slupsk, and how this demagogue brought the strike to an end, telling the railway workers to go back to work? And that is how it will continue. First attack Walesa, then cleanse him again, and then attack "Solidarity" again. Thus, in this way, we shall continue to occupy the front pages.

[Bikont] The trade union, at the same time the bulwark of the government, a great myth, a trade union that has fewer members than the National Trade Union Accord. You, the trade union leader, the presidential candidate who dismisses secretaries and editors, now personify the great crisis that "Solidarity" is undergoing. How do you see your role in the union?

[Walesa] This is my last turn in office, a third term is not possible. I have some 18 months left, maybe even less. As a Nobel Peace Prize winner I would like to contribute to even greater compromises in Latin America and Africa. But above all, I intend to put matters in our country in order. There are no results, and we have weak structural guarantees. "Solidarity" has won, but its people are becoming a hindrance. On whose head does "Solidarity's" cap sit? That is the question. And who is hiding under the "Solidarity" name?

With this challenge Walesa ended the interview.

Center Accord Presents Political Program

LD2306225290 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 23 Jun 90

[Text] The Center Accord is meeting in the Supreme Technical Organization building in Warsaw. One of its leaders, Senator Jaroslaw Kaczynski, presented a political program supporting an acceleration of political and economic transformations in Poland. All these transformations were to lead to the election of Lech Walesa as president of the republic and changes in the government so that representatives of forces which ruled Poland for 40-odd years would go. Fully democratic parliamentary elections should also take place as quickly as possible. Precisely this sort of parliament could concern itself with the passing of a constitution for the republic. The calling of a Center Accord congress in the fall of this year was proposed during the discussion. The debates continue.

Center Accord Leader Interviewed

LD2306230390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 23 Jun 90

[Interview with Center Accord leader Senator Jaroslaw Kaczynski by unidentified reporter in Warsaw on 23 June—recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Reporter] The Center is promoting Lech Walesa as president, a person having great international prestige.

[Kaczynski] Yes, we consider that prestige is one of his great trump cards; it is a great advantage for Poland also. Quite simply Poland's foreign policy, under the direction of Lech Walesa as president, could acquire a new strength, a new breakthrough in this situation, which is indeed a difficult one for Poland at the moment. But his prestige is above all valuable for Poland. Lech Walesa as president, that is a chance to cross the road to democracy without having to apply some kind of drastic means on the basis of a certain kind of new social accord, and that is the very reason why we are striving for that presidency at the moment.

[Reporter] The Center is in favor of changes within the body of the government, compromised people should leave; it is also an option of the Center for changes to take place on the lower level of the government, although the Center is opposed to what we call taking the road of revenge.

[Kaczynski] We are opposed to revenge, to a pogrom, and everything you say is also true. We are in favor of a change in the composition of the government, in the

sense that politicians leave, who are there on the basis of the roundtable agreements, and carry out very important functions. We are in favor of radical changes on other levels of the administration. There are also those which are beyond the central government departments; moreover those changes are to be made on a substantiative basis. As for political division—political division has totally lost its currency today, it is very damaging, it puts a brake on changes and has a very negative influence on the [word indistinct] milieux and on the development of pluralism, the development of full democracy, the finalizing of such a construction of our public life, so that democracy and the rule of law became an attribute in this construction.

Let's remember that the rule of law and political democracy cannot be introduced into any social system; it must be constructed appropriately. In Poland it still requires restructuring; it requires precisely a final liquidation of the remnants of the former system. Not everyone understands this. We also think that some people, who are governing Poland at the moment also do not understand that to the end. For us these are obvious things and that is why we want to carry out that program. [passage omitted]

Peasant Party on Government Policy, Walesa

AU2106124890 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 18 Jun 90 p 2

[Edward Krzemien report: "What Will the Polish Peasant Party Get Out of it?]

[Text] The Saturday [16 June] meeting of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] (the so-called big PSL) Supreme Council was attended by ministers and deputy ministers from the party, chairmen of voivodship boards, as well as Sejm Marshal Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, who is a member of the PSL.

Roman Jagielinski, Supreme Council chairman, said: "We should not waste political capital on the mistakes of a government that we help to form." Jagielinski warned: "Going into opposition will aid consolidation, but will not promote the development of the party. It may even decide its existence. The PSL should work to create a strong party independently rather than enter into various coalitions with small parties without a clearly defined social base. The conclusion that is to be drawn from this is that the coalition with the Citizens Parliamentary Club and the Democratic Party has to be maintained for the time being."

Roman Bartosz cze, chairman of the Supreme Executive Committee, attacked the current political setup: "The Citizens Parliamentary Club is splitting up into a social democratic party and a centrist party headed by Walesa. The government is not implementing any institutional changes, and the Sejm is creating socialism with a human face."

Bartosz cze said: "Walesa's initiative is convergent with the PSL's position—an acceleration is essential in order to attain political equilibrium. The social democrats, on the other hand, will reduce Poland's role to that of providing for foreign capital." This threatens to trigger a wave of anti-Semitism, said Bartosz cze.

However, he did not come out clearly for or against a coalition with Walesa's group. Speaking about the meeting with Walesa that is expected to take place shortly, he stressed that the initiative for it came from Walesa, who, Bartosz cze recalled, did not want to allow a strong peasant party to emerge. If "Solidarity" and Walesa do not realize that the rebuilding of the economy has to begin with agriculture, then the peasants will sweep away "Solidarity."

Following a debate lasting seven hours, it was decided that the coalition with the Citizens Parliamentary Club and the Democratic Party is no longer functioning: not in Parliament, not in the government, and not in personnel policy. However, the conclusions that were drawn from this were cautious: Bartosz cze was charged with trying to renew the coalition. The PSL will only consider "other political solutions" if this fails. The resolution states that all the alliances and coalitions are to be in writing and their content is to be made known.

On the other hand, all ideas concerning a coalition with Walesa and the Center Accord were rejected. Prof. Podraza, one of the speakers, said that the current political situation is such that Walesa and his group want to use the PSL in order to bring down the government and then assume total power for itself, and the PSL will not gain anything as a result.

Other speakers, such as Stefaniak and Obernikowicz, said that the government had concluded that the Balcerowicz plan had failed and it is now deliberately causing the situation in the countryside to worsen in order to provoke the PSL into breaking with the coalition. The odium resulting from the failure of economic policy would then fall on the PSL.

There was complete unity when the "restrictive" nature of government agricultural policy was discussed. The continuation of the policy poses a threat to "the biological existence of the nation" and may halt the reform process.

In a separate resolution, the PSL supported farmers' protests over pension contributions and the prices for milk, grain, and livestock. The government's decision concerning the possible use of force against the Mlawa farmers was roundly condemned. The resolution states that it is an expression of "ignorance" and disregard for the 40 percent of Polish society that live in the countryside.

Father Bijak spoke on the need to introduce religion into the schools. Following his statement, there was overwhelming support for the adoption of a policy stance stating that "the will of school boards, that is, parents' committees, should be decisive on this issue" and the conduct of a public debate was deemed to be "an embarrassment for a society that is overwhelmingly catholic." So, as the resolution states, the debate in the ministries and press should end.

Soviet Troop Withdrawals From Torun Continue

LD2306021190 Warsaw PAP in English 1851 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Torun, June 22—The first stage of withdrawing Soviet troops from Torun ended today when the last column of forty lorries with left the town.

The transport of equipment to the USSR by rail is also under way. So far, over 100 freight cars have been sent and the operation is to end in December 1990.

Radio, TV Committee Rejects Criticism

LD2006230490 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 20 Jun 90

[Text] Regarding the PAP statement on the Gdansk meeting between the chairmen of the Polish Peasant Party, the Democratic Party, and the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity, which contains a critical assessment of the television's information functions, the leadership of the Radio and Television Committee declares that they do not share this view.

Reliable results from the Center for Public Opinion Research contradict the argument that the television information creates a false image of social aspirations and preferences. So, in May this year, 54 percent of the viewers expressed confidence in television, and 39 percent held a different opinion. Fifty-one percent of those polled acknowledged that television presents different points of view, including some that are opposed to the government.

Politicians, by the nature of things, tend to assess television programs according to how well the arguments and interests of their groupings are taken into account; on the other hand, the intention of journalists is to ensure that the national television does not become a party to political disputes and conflicts, but merely relays information about events and processes taking place.

The leadership of the Radio and Television Committee acknowledges that the assessment of the television programs, which was put into words during the Gdansk meeting, is unfair. This statement has been signed by Stanislaw Jedrzejewski, spokesman for the Radio and Television Committee.

Commentary on Continuing Inflation

AU2206115190 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 19 May 90 p 2

["zm"-signed commentary]

[Text] The optimistic forecasts have been shown to have been unfounded. Retail prices in May initially were only supposed to rise by some 2.5 percent. There were even some forecasts that they would only rise by 0.5 percent. As late as a week ago there was talk in GUS [Central Statistical Office] that price increases would fall somewhere between 3.5 percent and 4 percent. Let us bear in mind that the food price rise exceeded the May average. This was mainly caused by more expensive meat products. The continuing substantial increase in the cost of providing services is worrisome. Moreover, the supply of these continues to shrink and decline in quality. Alcohol prices seem to have stabilized, but this is linked to the fact that alcohol prices are officially controlled.

The only glimmer of hope in all this is that wages can be increased by up to five percent and still avoid the tax trap designed to catch wage increases that exceed the allowable index for the month. The fact that wages can be increased does not mean that they will be. Only enterprises that can afford it might do so. Of course, one can also increase wages above the allowable index, provided that one has the funds to meet the sharply scaled tax that will become payable on the excess. Everything depends on the financial condition of the enterprise.

For those people who like comparisons, let us recall how prices have risen in 1990 (by reference to the preceding month). In January they jumped by 78.6 percent, in February by 23.9 percent, in March by 4.7 percent, and in April by 8.1 percent.

Thus, it would appear that hyperinflation has been crushed. We are now left with "ordinary" inflation.

May Consumer Price Rises Reported

AU2106171290 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 19 Jun 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Central Statistical Office Communique—Retail Prices Rose by Five Percent in May"]

[Text] The Central Statistical Office reports that goods retail prices and the cost of providing services increased by five percent in May, compared to the average increase in April. Thus, in accordance with the provisions of the Law on Taxes on Increments to Remunerations in 1990 (Journal of Statutes No. 74, Item 438), it will be this figure that will be taken to provide the benchmark for calculating the nontaxable, allowable increase in remuneration for May.

Food prices rose by 5.4 percent, alcohol by 0.9 percent, nonfood consumables by 3.8 percent, and services by 10.5 percent.

Poland To Attend Next Two-Plus-Four Talks

LD2306174690 Warsaw PAP in English 1650 GMT 23 Jun 90

["Poland to Attend Next Two Plus Four Talks"—PAP headline]

[Text] Berlin, June 23—The second session of the Two plus Four conference in Berlin did not bring about any breakthrough in the settlement of the key external aspects of German unification.

Certain progress was noted however on border issues. The foreign affairs ministers of the four powers welcomed the

unequivocal declaration on Poland's Western border adopted by both German parliaments. All the foreign ministers participating in the Two plus Four talks expressed a wish for Poland's Foreign Affairs Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski to attend their next meeting in Paris on July 17 to finally settle the border issue.

Foreign affairs officials are working on a solution which could be accepted in the capital of France.

Further Involvement With Kharkov Graves Desired

LD2006220490 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 20 Jun 90

[Text] The director of the Energopol [enterprise building gas pipelines in the USSR] in Kiev, on behalf of the 3,000-strong workforce of Polish construction workers, has announced readiness to provide universal organizational and technical assistance in activities concerned with the preservation and remembrance of the murder sites of Polish officers in the region of Kharkov.

Polish public opinion is worried about the manner in which the Soviet side is revealing the murder sites of Polish officers from the camps in Starobielsk and Ostaszkow. We found out in a roundabout way about the revelation of the massacre site of 4,000 Polish officers from the camp in Starobielsk, from an article published on 13 June by MOSKOVSKOYE NOVOSTI, and from Western correspondents accredited in Moscow.

Further information was given by a spokesman of the Ukrainian KGB, and his statement was quoted by PAP in the first communique on the discovery of the graves near Kharkov. So far, the Polish representatives involved, such as historians, Red Cross, and priests, have not been allowed to the scene of the crime.

The KGB has known for a long time about the exact location of the graves of the Polish officers. Everything is being done at a low level. We are allowing the KGB to give us a button from the uniform of one of the martyrs, whereas every bone there should be picked up by Polish hands, every article made safe. The Commission for Investigation of the Stalinist Crimes should be there. The government should be applying for the extradition of criminals. This is not a trifling matter in Polish history. We have waited 50 years for these graves to be revealed. What the government is failing to do upsets my feeling of national dignity.

PAP Notes German Decision on Border

LD2106184890 Warsaw PAP in English 1739 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Text] Berlin, June 21—The GDR People's Chamber today adopted a declaration on Poland's Western border, worded in the same way as the declaration passed by the West German Bundestag also today.

The declaration was adopted by a huge majority of votes. Six deputies from the DSU [German Social Union] floor group voted against and eighteen abstained. The result of the voting was received by a standing ovation.

Deputy Paul Latussek read out a statement on behalf of the six deputies voting against questioning the need to again adopt declaration on the Odra-Nysa border.

The statement charged Poland with not lending a hand in a gesture of reconciliation as Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel did.

The authors of the statement also demanded recognition of German minority beyond the Odra and Nysa Rivers in legal and constitutional terms, as was originally demanded also by West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl. The GDR parliament did not respond at all to the statement.

After the voting, GDR disarmament and defence minister Rainer Eppelmann said this in an interview for the PAP correspondent:

"The declaration has also European significance and, in my opinion, this is also a step towards europe as it lays down more durable and secure foundations for relations between Gemans and Poles.

"Other European neighbours will certainly understand this as a symbol of the fact that Germans, in the process of their unification, at least do not ignore problems and concerns of their neighbours.

"One should see also the fact that in view of the Federal Government's well-known state-and-legal stand it was not so easy particularly for this government to decide to take such a step before one German republic is set up.

"I am satisfied that a compromise was found which made it possible to reconcile legal principles on the one hand and the need for a sense of security of Polish neighbours, quite understandable for me, on the other. From this point of view, this was an important declaration and an important deed for Europe."

Romanian, Moldavian Citizens Meet at Border

AU2406191190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1605 GMT 24 Jun 90

["The Banks of the Prut—Meetings at the Frontier With the Moldavian SSR"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/6/1990—On Sunday [24 June], groups of citizens from settlements on both sides of the border between Romania and the Moldavian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] gathered at various frontier points. At Albita several thousands of people crossed the border to the Moldavian SSR coming back after a few hours. The action, arranged by organizations in the Moldavian SSR and Romania proceeded without incidents.

Thousands Cross Soviet Border

AU2406125190 Paris AFP in English 1140 GMT 24 Jun 90

[Text] Albita, Romania, June 24 (AFP)—Tens of thousands of Romanians burst across the border into the Soviet Union here on Sunday and fraternised with Moldavians on the other side, an AFP correspondent here reported.

The crowds pushed past Romanian and Soviet guards at the Albita frontier post and swarmed over. They were met by Moldavians who had come from several towns, including the Soviet Republic's capital Kishinev.

In a similar incident on May 6, dubbed the "Bridge of Flowers", tens of thousands of Romanians crossed a railway bridge linking the Romanian province of Moldavia and the Soviet republic.

Crowds of Romanians on both sides of the Prut river celebrated the reunion and threw bouquets of flowers in the river to mark the occasion.

On Sunday [24 June], in an operation called "Open Borders," the crowd penetrated about two kilometers (just over a mile) into Soviet territory where they remained an hour before being forced to return by Soviet border guards.

The demonstration then turned into a huge afternoon picnic on both sides of the now-closed border. No incidents had occurred as the afternoon began.

The "Bridge of Flowers" event was organised by various cultural associations. The "Open Borders" event was decided upon after the May 6 event.

Cultural organizations had announced that a "human chain" between citizens of Soviet Moldavia and Romanian Moldavia would be formed Sunday.

What is now the Soviet Republic of Moldavia was constituted the 13th Soviet republic in 1940, combining the former Moldavia Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and Bessarabia, ceded by Romania on June 28, 1940.

Government To Allow Parties 'Free Expression'

AU2206150090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Esteemed listeners, just now we received a communique on behalf of the government.

The Government Press Bureau has been authorized to make the following statement:

Concerning the events of 13 to 15 June, during their investigations the competent government bodies did not uncover any documents and objects at variance with legal norms connected with the activity of political parties at the Bucharest headquarters of the National Liberal Party [NLP].

The government is also ready to grant its wholehearted support to political and nonpolitical parties, organizations, and associations whose activity was interrupted from 13 to 15 June, so that they may resume their operation on the basis of the legal status endorsed by judicial bodies. Their free and unhampered activity constitutes a guarantee for the free expression of political and civic opinions other than in street confrontations, which can turn into acts of violence.

People of All Parties To Take Government Jobs

AU2206174490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1449 GMT 22 Jun 90

["Political Life: Primarily Young People Will Be Asked To Join the Government"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 22/6/1990—"The caretaker government has done its duty; it also has merits in maintaining the productive apparatus in operation, and in the achievements that certain sectors have had, particularly agriculture which is one of the bets the interim government has won," Romania's Prime Minister- designate Petre Roman said in an interview with the Romanian television Thursday evening. "To discontinue the fundamental development trend of the Romanian economy is a widely accepted option of all political forces and it calls for a structural government change," Mr. Roman went on showing that he had in view also the general line and its membership. "In my opinion, the government should outline the state of the economy as we would like it to be in transition to a market economy, when efforts are made to modernise and bring it up to this late-century standards." As far as cabinet membership is concerned, Petre Roman takes the view that young people above all should be asked because they need not adjust to transition, as well as competent people of proven intellectual and managerial value.

The basic idea of government formation is that the parliamentary majority shows in the government, the prime minister said. Fortunately, very many competent people of undisputable value and relatively young—I am thinking of the generations of engineers, economists, physicians, law men who graduated in the sixties—are

either National Salvation Front members or very close to the Front's programme, so they meet both criteria I spoke about: They represent the parliamentary majority and are technocrats of high standing. However, the general idea remains, namely that competent people will be asked to take over government jobs at a crucial time for the Romanian economy, and the country in general, and for that the political shade is not essential. Of course, there are differences in the positions of the National Salvation Front, of the National Liberal Party, of the National Christian Democratic Peasant Party, so that, from this angle I don't think we can have a coalition cabinet. It will not reflect the situation as it actually is. But there are other political parties or groups which—I can affirm it now—will be represented on the government team at various levels. Even personalities whose political views are traced to the historical ideology of, say, the liberals or the Peasants Party may be asked to join the future cabinet as competent technocrats.

In my opinion, the president of Romania's inaugural speech, the position it outlines appears to me as very important, although it is not a government programme which should supply specific answers, show the exact steps it plans to take because, unlike a programme of intentions, it must be approved by parliament and the citizens, said the prime minister-designate in answer to a question. In a state with democratic institutions, government action is controlled, and this action is credible and can be achieved only if it is convincing. The government programme I intend to put before parliament will be precise and concrete. I trust it is my duty not to extend the care-taking period any more and I am thinking to submit the list of the new cabinet and its programme to parliament next week, the prime minister wound up.

Ceausescu's Sister Brought to Court

AU2206164590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1519 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 22/6/1990—The penal section of the Bucharest City Court of Justice started the trial against defendant Maria (Rita) Agache, former dictator's sister, charged with fraud in public property and abuse of privilege.

Timisoara Trial Adjourned Until 7 Aug

AU2206181390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1657 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 22/6/1990—The military section of the Supreme Court of Justice continued on Friday in Timisoara the open-court trial against defendants Ion Coman, Cornel Pacoste, Ilie Matei and Radu Balan and another 21 defendants—former militia and Securitate officers and their collaborators—charged with genocide, complicity in and abetting genocide and other criminal offenses by hearing further witnesses. So far the court heard 110 witnesses and injured parties, most of whom were eye-witnesses to the events on the days of the December revolution in Timisoara.

The court adjourned on Friday [[2 June]. The next session was scheduled for August 7, 1990, when further witnesses will be heard.

Transport Workers Suspend Strike After Talks

AU2206172290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1617 GMT 22 Jun 90

["Political Life: Trade-Union Federation in Road Transport Suspends General Strike"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 22/6/1990—A meeting was held at the Government Headquarters on June 20 and 21 with representatives of the "USTAR" Federation of the Trade Unions in Road Transport in Romania, when claims set forth in a 14-point petition sent to the government in May were reanalysed. Of them, not solved so far were those referring to the ensurance of the technical-material base and the profitability of the activity of road-transport units, which made trade unions declare a general strike on May 25, 1990.

The talks proceeded in an operative and sincere working atmosphere and palpable solutions were found with the participation and accord of executives of a number of ministries.

Consequently, the federation decided to suspend the strike scheduled for June 25.

Former Political Detainees Decry Miners' Violence

AU2506085990 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 19 Jun 90 p 3

["Protest" note signed by the Leading Committee of the Association of Former Political Detainees; place and date not given]

[Text] The Association of the Former Political Detainees and Victims of Dictatorship in Romania, during an enlarged meeting, reexamined the events of 13-15 June 1990 in light of the duty incumbent on us, and states the following: 1. The association condemns and considers unacceptable the brutal use of violence on 13 June 1990 between 0400 and 1400, which was the major cause of the escalation of violence.
2. The association condemns all acts of vandalism that were carried out in the street and inside institutions on 13 June in the afternoon and during the night of 13-14 June 1990 and requests that those who are guilty of such actions be investigated.
3. The association disapproves of the violence, robberies, and destruction carried out by miners and those who were leading them on the unforgettable days of 14 and 15 June 1990, and requests that they be taken to account for the material damage they caused and that they answer in court for their deeds.
4. The association vehemently protests against the attack on the headquarters of the Association of Former Political Detainees in Romania and against the purloining of some electronic devices, typewriters, and other goods by

teams of miners. The association condemns the threats voiced on that occasion and the taking into custody of one of the members of our association.
5. The association condemns the attempt to disunite the Romanian people and divide them into social classes and condemns the actions of instigating workers to hatred against intellectuals and students and even against Gypsies.
6. The association requests that all defamatory labeling should be stopped.

The country needs quiet, reconciliation, and respect for the political beliefs of each person and observance of the country's laws.

The Leading Committee of the Association of Former Political Detainees

NDP Dismisses President, Press Commission Head

AU2506104990 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1000 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Communique issued by the National Democratic Party in Bucharest on 24 June]

[Text] The National Democratic Party [NDP] headquartered in Bucharest, at No. 1 Aron Florian Street, District 2, wants to inform the public that at an extraordinary meeting yesterday, 24 June, the party's Steering Council unanimously decided to take the following measures:

To dismiss Mr. Cristian Butusina from his position as president of the party because of serious violations of party discipline, the unilateral way in which he coordinated the party's activity, and his faulty management of the party's finances.

To dismiss Mr. Teodor (Selma) from his position as president of the press commission.

The interim leadership will be carried out by a steering committee made up of 11 people—Serghei Mesaros, Adrian Constantin, Bogdan Pascu, Ioan (Certea), Filip Gheorghe, Daniela Davalica, Mariana Iovitu, Georgeta Georgescu, (Jordan Pantu), Ionel (Sosner), and Titus Mateescu—until the NDP national conference, which will be held on 1 July 1990.

New Opposition Group Formed in Cluj

LD2406092790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 23 Jun 90

[Text] In Cluj, a new opposition organization has been formed, whose aim is to make the NSF [National Salvation Front] leaders resign, thus removing the political organization from power. The group, called Romanian Independent Forum, was brought to life by one of the Romanian nationality members of the Cluj council. He said that the organization is needed as there is no opposition grouping in Romania.

Commemoration of December Revolution Heroes

AU2206165790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1456 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 22/6/1990—On the commemoration of six months since the December 22, 1989 revolution, wreaths of flowers were laid at the heroes' cemetery, in the Revolution Square, University Square and Romana Square in Bucharest on Friday morning on behalf of Romania's President, Mr. Ion Iliescu, of the Parliament and of the government. The solemnities held in the presence of a large number of Bucharest's citizens were preceded by requiems officiated by groups of priests.

Similar memorial services were also held in Timisoara, Brasov, Sibiu and all over the country where wreaths were laid and military guards presented arms at the revolution memorials.

At 12.00 hours all the churches' bells rang and the sirens in Bucharest and in other towns wailed.

Iliescu Lays Wreath at Young Heroes Cemetery

AU2206165890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1524 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 22/6/1990—Friday, 22 June, when six months since the December 1989 revolution are commemorated, Romania's President Ion Iliescu laid a floral wreath at the young heroes' cemetery.

Wreaths were also laid by representatives of the Parliament and the Government of Romania, of the capital city's mayorship.

After laying the wreath, Romania's president talked to parents and relatives of the heroes who wished him well in the fulfilling the difficult mission the people entrusted him with on 20 May.

A religious service was then performed by several priests.

Wreaths were also laid on behalf of the president and the Government of Romania during ceremonies held in the Revolution Square—where the events of 22 December took place—and at the crucifix in the University Square and at the television studios.

Marshal Ion Antonescu Commemorated

AU2206170290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1501 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 22/6/1990 —Marshal Ion Antonescu was commemorated on June 21, 1990 at the St. Elefterie Church in Bucharest where a remembrance service was officiated upon the initiative of a group of war veterans.

After the service Mr. Colonel Petre Constantinescu Bala, r.[as received], head of the 1938 "Selimbar" class, referred to Ion Antonescu's personality as a military commander and statesman. Mr. Marin Popescu, leader of the group of the marshal's associates, announced that the association pro-Antonescu was to be founded in his memory, which is to raise a memorial, hold a symposium and initiate an action to discover his grave.

Agreement Reached With Greece; Tensions Ease

Border Regulations Viewed

LD2206221790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1829 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Jun (TANJUG)—Representatives of Yugoslavia and Greece have reached agreement on reciprocal measures for regulating the crossing of the common border, it was announced at a session of the Federal Government in Belgrade today.

The agreed measures should eliminate difficulties in crossing the border, which have intensified particularly over the past ten days.

As announced today, Yugoslav and Greek citizens will in the future, when crossing the border, have to show 18 U.S. dollars (or an equivalent thereof in another currency) for every day they intend to spend in the neighbouring country.

Tourists travelling on package tours with travel agencies can cross the border with vouchers. The regulation on the compulsory possession of hard currency will not apply to the crews of planes, trains, buses and trucks in international transit and for those travelling on business.

Yugoslav and Greek citizens will in the future be able to obtain visas only in the other country's diplomatic-consular missions, it was also announced today. (Here, too, full reciprocity has been established as, until recently, Greeks have been in the position to obtain visas on the Yugoslav border, whereas Yugoslavs could not avail themselves of a similar service on the Greek border).

The decision will take effect on all border crossings at midnight on Saturday, June 23, it was said today.

In the past few days, many travelers have been turned back from the border between the two countries for not having the required amount of hard currency in their possession. Greek authorities have demanded of Yugoslav citizens entering Greece to exhibit one thousand U.S. dollars, which is twice the amount required under Greek regulations. This restriction has resulted in the usually extremely busy border crossings being deserted in the past few days.

Slovene Daily Comments

AU2406133490 Ljubljana NEODVISNI DNEVNIK in Slovene 19 Jun 90 p 2

[Zoran Senkovic commentary: "Yugoslav-Greek Relations: Cold War on the Southern Border"]

[Text] Yugoslav foreign policy has received another slap in the face. It has been delivered at home, but it will undoubtedly reverberate far across our borders, and we can only guess as to the consequences.

The blockade of our southernmost border checkpoints is actually a logical consequence of our foreign policy's inertia which has not managed to get out of the traps of principles—and considering the situation in the country, this will be increasingly more difficult—and appropriately face the problem that has burdened our relations with Greece since Yugoslavia was formed.

Precisely in the case of the Macedonian minority in Greece, we have been constantly pushing the principle of good neighborly relations down to the level of an unhealthy principle, and we are now doubly paying for this: in the form of Greek arrogance and in the form of Macedonian dissatisfaction. The consequences of the first are the treatment of some of our citizens as if they were second-class people, chicanery, and outrages, and the consequences of the second are the Macedonians' actions on the border, which can be understood but will certainly not open the door to the West for us.

Whether it wants to or not, our Foreign Ministry will now have to tackle this question, the difference being that it will no longer be able to take refuge with the established cliche: "We draw the attention of the Greek side to this problem at every opportunity."

It will have to face the Greek retaliatory moves as well as the negative reaction in the EC, which is not enthusiastic at all concerning moves that in any way hinder the flow of traffic across the border of one of its members. It is a poor consolation, or rather no consolation whatever, that Greece's conduct on the Macedonian question and Yugoslavia in general is not to the credit of a member of the EC which advocates equality in the EC.

Our foreign policy people will have to explain the justified indignation of the Macedonians a few decades too late.

Now they will perhaps remember the dozens of scholarly works, not exclusively by our authors, which confirm the existence of the Macedonian minority in Greece. Prewar regimes reigning with terror in our southern neighbor oppressed and deported this minority, but they nevertheless recognized it, which not even the most progressive movements there can manage to do now.

Now they will perhaps note that they should have internationalized the Macedonian problem a long time ago, instead of dealing with it in a worse way than they have dealt with the Slovene minority in Italy and Austria.

In this case (and others beside), our foreign policy has never displayed any trace of discrimination. It is impossible to have the same approach, characterized by diplomatic tolerance and infinite patience, in the case of the minorities in the countries that officially recognize the minorities and grant them at least some rights, and in the case of the minorities in the countries that simply do not recognize the minorities despite all the available evidence. The statement by the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs to the effect that it is searching for

opportunities for a beginning of negotiations with Athens is quite in keeping with the bland conduct so far, and one cannot expect any results worth mentioning.

The Foreign Ministry will quite certainly put some blame on the Macedonians, because with their behavior at the border checkpoints, they inflicted great harm on our diplomacy and because it was generally impossible to conduct a consistent foreign policy when every republic conducted its own. It will probably not occur to the Ministry to look for the causes of the decentralized foreign policy in its own inefficiency and its inability to foresee such a development of events in the explosion of national emotions being witnessed.

At the same time the Foreign Ministry is on its best way to make another false judgment, because it certainly counts on the understanding of the EC for the cold war on our southern border.

It is not only that the West has a number of other more important matters to think about, but also why should it waste energy on a minority that even the government of the mother country barely mentioned until the other day? It certainly will have no understanding when it learns that tourists from their countries, through no fault of their own, had to wait for hours to cross into Greece.

Further on Regulations

AU2406192990 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 24 Jun 90

[Dragan Petrovic commentary from the "Sunday at 10" program—live or recorded]

[Text] The agreement between Yugoslavia and Greece concerning border crossings came into effect at midnight. Let us recall that citizens of the two countries will have to show that they have $18 or 300 drachmas for every day of their stay. Tourists who go to Greece or Yugoslavia as part of a tourist agency's package tour must have vouchers, credit cards, or checks for the amount required. It has also been agreed that visas will be issued in consular or diplomatic representations in Belgrade or Skopje for Yugoslavs, and in Athens and Thessalonica for Greek citizens.

We hope that this has resolved the problem that has caused much trouble on both sides of the border over the last seven days and introduced many complications in Yugoslav-Greek relations.

However, who will win and who will lose with everything that has happened on the Yugoslav-Greek border over the last week? Here is Dragan Petrovic:

[Petrovic] First of all, let us start with our own trail. The saying goes that the mother does not worry until the child starts crying. However, what kind of mother is it who waits for her child to cry before she does something? Then the child starts crying in the wrong place and in the wrong way and the whole family gets a headache. So, the [word indistinct] dissatisfaction of the Macedonians that their compatriots have been deprived of the right to go to Greece or their many years of pointing out the bad treatment they receive, when a visa is issued, is quite understandable. However, the blockade of Yugoslavia's border and the halt of international communications is more difficult to understand and even more difficult to justify. The ratio of wins to losses is clear in this case.

However, this unpleasant episode in Yugoslav-Greek relations contains several lessons. The moral for our country's highest leadership is that, even though it is motivated by the best intentions, it should not so easily renounce generally-accepted and established mechanisms of international relations, like reciprocity. It is not exactly easy to defend a return to a lower level—even though it only means making approaches uniform—particularly under conditions of a generally sullied image.

As regards the Greeks, they make a classic mistake in logical thinking when it comes to the Macedonians. They proceed from erroneous premises and then their conclusions and behavior lead them in this direction. It looks like this: There are no Macedonians in Greece, and if there are no Macedonians in Greece then there are none in Yugoslavia either, and if they do not exist anywhere then this is a nonexistent problem and there is nothing to be discussed in this respect.

However, if nothing else, heads should not be stuck in the sand when faced with the fact that Macedonians have existed in Yugoslavia for half a century. The Greeks cannot abolish Macedonians by negating them and denying their existence, but with time, they will also realize that the national problem only becomes more explosive if it is denied or pushed aside. It is yet to be shown who will win and who lose in this respect.

What at this moment could and does do most harm to Greece is the rejection of the dialogue that Yugoslavia has been offering for years. Rejecting talks, as a way of overcoming problems, at this moment in time when Europe and the world are talking about things that even a year ago we could not even dream would become a subject of talks, shows in the best way the level of Greece's affiliation with Europe. As one colleague said, formal membership of Europe is not much help here.

Macedonian Appeal Issued

LD2206211990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1203 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Copenhagen, 22 Jun (TANJUG)—At the CSCE conference here today, Yugoslavia submitted a memorandum on the Macedonian national minority cautioning against harsh violations of the national rights and basic freedoms of Macedonians in Bulgaria and Greece.

In pointing out that Bulgaria and Greece are violating in the harshest way the basic rights and freedoms of the Macedonian National Minorities, Yugoslavia suggested to the participants in the Copenhagen meeting that these

two countries, at the Copenhagen CSCE follow-up in Moscow next year, should submit reports on the position of the Macedonian minorities within their state borders.

At the same time Yugoslavia addressed other international forums and general public in the world with the view of taking the necessary steps and extending the broadest support for the just demands of members of the Macedonian National minorities in Greece and Bulgaria.

The memorandum reiterates that, through the historical development so far, certain governments, parliaments or political movements in Greece and Bulgaria have taken also favourable stands towards the members of the Macedonian National Minority.

During World War II and in the period of civil war in Greece, the Macedonians in this area had been enabled to use their maternal language, nurture customs and folk creation, publish newspapers, and educate themselves in Macedonian language.

In Bulgaria, too, during the early postwar years, it is added in the memorandum, members of the Macedonian minority enjoyed full equality—the right to declare themselves as Macedonians, the possibility of receiving instruction in their own langauge and of using this language in private life, business relations, and in the press and publishing activity.

In cautioning that in Bulgaria and Greece, the Macedonian national minorities have been harshly deprived of their once-recognized rights, Yugoslavia displayed readiness—in the spirit of good relations, on the principles of international law and regarding the reaffirmation of the human rights—to consider with governments in Athens and Sofia all the questions that might help solve the problem of the position of the Macedonian minorities.

Hungary's Foreign Minister Jeszenszky Arrives

Holds Talks With Loncar

LD2206020490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1937 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Jun (TANJUG)—The processes of democratization and reforms in Yugoslavia and Hungary, which are part of the general trends in Europe, are bringing the two neighbouring countries ever closer, although their relations were very good and well-developed before this also—Foreign Ministers Budimir Loncar of Yugoslavia and Geza Jeszenszky of Hungary assessed today during their (?official) talks in Belgrade.

Jeszenszky today arrived on a two-day working visit to Yugoslavia. The dialogue between the two ministers covered bilateral relations, regional cooperation, and the process of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). It was underscored that economic cooperation is satisfactory only in structure (higher forms of cooperation), but not in value—700 million dollars annually. Prospects are good, however, since the transition to a market economy in the two countries opens new possibilities, and border cooperation, which should be liberalized and modernized, as said, is acquiring particular importance.

The Yugoslav-Hungarian talks devoted considerable attention also to the promotion of the rights and positions of national minorities in the two neighboring countries. Jeszenszky expressed the readiness of his country to study some Yugoslav experiences in this field, as well as the determination of his government to secure the widest possible rights to all minorities, including the Yugoslav.

Terms Talks 'Substantial'

LD2206021190 Budapest MTI in English 2120 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Jun (MTI)—Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky termed his talks in Belgrade to have been open and substantial, in a statement with MTI's correspondent.

Mr Jeszenszky underlined that the resolution to foster and develop good-neighbourly relations was mutual.

Regarding the ensurance of minority rights, I heard such reassuring statements that were our other neighbours to be of a similar opinion, we could look to the future more calmly, the foreign minister said. He specially stressed the remarks made by Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidium of the Republic of Serbia, who said they ensure full equality for the minorities, including the Hungarian minority.

The foreign minister recalled that both countries are in the period of transition from dictatorships to democracy. Thus he experienced at his talks that many identical or similar tasks need to be solved in the two countries, and that there are many common features in the way of thinking by the politicians of the two countries. Therefore, there is a mutual interest for exchanging experiences.

On behalf of Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, the foreign minister invited Ante Markovic, president of the Yugoslav Government, for a visit to Hungary. The invitation was accepted.

Regional Cooperation Discussed

LD2206102290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2259 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Jun (TANJUG)—The "pentagonal cooperation", inaugurated by Yugoslavia, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Austria and Italy several months ago, is a very suitable framework for Yugoslavia's and Hungary's more effective inclusion in European integration

processes, Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic and Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky assessed said [as received] today.

Markovic and Jeszenszky pleaded that this form of regional cooperation be concreticized, especially in the field of economy.

Markovic and Jeszenszky described Yugoslav-Hungarian cooperation as successful, stressing that the current changes in both countries were opening up possibilities to promote it further, especially in the economic sphere.

Jeszemszky, who is on a two-day working visit to Yugoslavia, was today received by Serbian Presidency President Slobodan Milosevic. Their talks focused on national minorities on both sides of the border, which they said could become one of the most open borders in the region.

Jeszenszky and Milosevic agreed on the need to speed up the realization of existing projects for the development of modern roads through Hungary and Serbia, which are not only of interest to both countries, but to regional cooperation in the Danube basin and broader cooperation in Europe.

Meets With Markovic, Serbia's Milosevic

LD2206103290 Budapest MTI in English 0745 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Jun (MTI)—Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky, who is paying an official visit to Yugoslavia, left Belgrade for Zagreb Friday morning [22 June] to open the Hungarian consulate-general and hold talks with the political leaders of Croatia, Franjo Tudjman, president of the government.

On Thursday, the foreign minister had a packed programme in Novi Sad and Belgrade. He held comprehensive talks with President Ante Markovic of the Federal Executive Council. The head of the Yugoslav Government emphasized that the maintenance of good relations and cooperation with Hungary was very important for his country. He said the two countries had to tackle practically identical tasks, and emphasized the importance of developing inter-company cooperation. Markovic expressed the conviction that the two countries should regularly exchange their experience in the various fields, and laid stress on the importance of personal contacts.

On behalf of Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, Jeszenszky invited Markovic to Hungary. The Yugoslav premier accepted the invitation with thanks.

Earlier, the Hungarian foreign minister held meaningful talks with Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidency of Serbia. The sides exchanged views on the situation of the Hungarian minority in Serbia and the southern Slav minority in Hungary, on the construction of a fast railway line and a motorway between Budapest and Belgrade, and a railway station in Subotica, and on the involvement of Serbian firms in preparations for the Budapest-Vienna world expo.

Milosevic assured the Hungarian foreign minister that the Republic of Serbia guaranteed the full equality of all minorities, including the Hungarian. "We are prepared to promote the Hungarians in Serbia in fostering their relations with the parent country. This relationship is not 'suspicious' for us, and does not endanger Serbia's sovereignty," Milosevic said. The amendment to the Serbian constitution is aimed at establishing a law-governed state rather than curbing human or minority rights.

Meets With Croatian Leaders

LD2306021490 Budapest MTI in English 1732 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Jun (MMTI)—Franjo Tudjman, president of the Presidium of the Republic of Croatia, and Geza Jeszenszky, Hungarian minister of foreign affairs, shared the view that bilateral cooperation can, and should, be raised to a higher level with reliance on the historic relations between Hungary and Croatia, the Hungarian and South Slav minorities in the two neighbouring countries, and the recent democratic changes in Hungary and Croatia.

Jeszenszky presented an invitation to Tudjman for a visit to Budapest.

The discussions between Stjepan Mesic, head of the Croatian Government, and Geza Jeszenszky also touched on the long-standing common historic past.

They pointed to the need for improving the quality of economic, cultural, scientific and educational cooperation, and stressed the importance of the minorities' role as a bridge.

They took a stand for intensifying direct links between countries, towns, companies, institutions, schools, editorial offices and private citizens, as well as for facilitating personal contacts and for improving traffic conditions at border-crossing points.

Then, the Hungarian Consulate General was opened. After the ceremony, the Hungarian foreign minister left for Budapest.

Hungarian Consulate To Open in Zagreb

LD2206030290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1827 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Text] Zagreb, 21 Jun (TANJUG)—The president of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, Zarko Domljan, today received the newly-appointed consul of the Republic of Hungary in Croatia, Gabor Bagi.

During the talks, the parties expressed satisfaction with the opening of a Hungarian consulate in Zagreb. It was agreed that this would contribute to better ties and to

expanding traditional ties in the context of the new democratic changes. The importance of improved cooperation in the transport, communications, and tourism industries was particularly stressed.

Preparatory Meeting of Nonaligned 'Experts' Held

LD2406134690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0916 GMT 24 Jun 90

[Text] Algiers, 24 Jun (TANJUG)—A preparatory meeting for the third conference of Mediterranean foreign ministers in Algiers June 25-26 opened here last night.

Experts from eleven mediterranean nonaligned countries, Yugoslavia (?including) would draw up an agenda and a draft final document for the ministerial conference.

The conference would concentrate on Mediterranean peace and security, economic cooperation among the nonaligned, situation with reference to the Middle East and in the light of East-West detente and turbulent changes in East Europe.

The "group of 11" nonaligned countries in the region would trace out the courses of accord-aimed negotiations and cooperation, both between themselves and with the European Community with an ultimate goal of turning the Mediterranean into a zone of peace, security and cooperation.

Loncar To Attend Conference

LD2206010590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1801 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Jun (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar will represent his country at a Ministerial Conference of Mediterranean non-aligned countries in Algiers on June 25 and 26, journalists were told here today by Darko Silovic, head of the Multilateral Cooperation Department of the Yugoslav Foreign Minsitry.

Silovic said that the conference would focus on the paths and ways for linking their countries with the dynamic processes in Europe and that the meeting would for the first time be attended by delegations from Italy, France and Spain, representing the European Community.

He stressed that the arrival of these three delegations confirms their interest for cooperation with the regional group of Non-Aligned countries, whose current mutual relations are on a higher level. Despite the fact that the process of mutual [word indistinct] rapprochment will not be easy.

The Algiers conference will be the third of its kind.

Previous meetings were held in 1984 in Valletta, Malta, and in 1987 on the Brioni Islands, Yugoslavia, when Yugoslavia was elected as coordinator of the Nonaligned Mediterranean countries.

Prior to the conference, the Yugoslav foreign secretary will visit Algiers on June 23 and 24 at the invitation of his hosts, Silovic said.

USSR Supreme Soviet Delegation Arrives

LD2406131690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1055 GMT 24 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Jun (TANJUG)—A delegation of the Supreme Soviet Committee for International Relations, headed by chairman Aleksandr Sergeyevich Dzasohov, arrived here today on a five-day visit to Yugoslavia to discuss topical international events with the Yugoslav Parliament Foreign Policy Commitee.

The talks will focus on modern trends in Europe, the CSCE process, the superpowers' talks, disarmament processes, etc.

The talks will also include internal trends in both countries, political and economic reforms and further production of parliamentary and economic cooperation.

Presidency Proposes Formal Secession Law

AU2306193890 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 23 Jun 90

[Text] Who is in most of a hurry to adopt a federal law on secession? Here is what Janez Drnovsek, member of the SFRY Presidency, said in conversation with journalists of Ljubljana DELO. Relja Atanasijevic reports:

The republics' positions on Yugoslavia's future system are known on the whole. At a recent SFRY Presidency meeting, the presidents of the Slovenian and Croatian Republics presented their view that a confederation is the only acceptable solution for them. Serbia and some others advocate a strong federation with the provision that whoever does not want to cooperate within it should get out.

Presenting these republican stands, Drnovsek stated that the SFRY Presidency had proposed to the Federal Executive Council that it begin preparing a draft law on secession in case somebody is not prepared to remain in a common state under the conditions adopted by a majority. This would be the last resort in case the republics are unable to attain a general agreement, Drnovsek said.

He stated that Bosnia-Hercegovina is against any change in its republican borders and that it sees its future within a Yugoslav federation. Macedonia is of a similar opinion and it feels threatened by its neighbors. Montenegro also favors a federation.

Drnovsek said, it has been established that, in the initial stage, one simply cannot find a joint solution acceptable to all. Therefore the SFRY Presidency will meet expanded republican leaderships within two weeks. At

the next stage the Presidency intends to present a specific proposal with acceptable variations.

According to Drnovsek there are still no rough outlines on what the secession law should encompass. These will be drafted by a Federal Executive Council working group. Drnovsek added, I would expect that Slovenia and Croatia will push for the drafting of such a law. However, at present this intention is more pronounced in Serbia.

Yugoslavia's future system is connected with our country's joining the European Council and by this very fact with free multiparty elections in all the republics. In this connection, Drnovsek expressed his conviction that the elections will be held by the end of the year. The only question that remains is Serbia and internal events in it, whose development is difficult to predict.

Nevertheless, the SFRY Presidency will strive to exert its influence so that elections to the federal assembly are held, but it is not clear what the position will be if one republic fails to hold them.

Janez Drnovsek stated that the majority of SFRY Presidency members felt that the suggestion to frame a new Yugoslavian constitution should remain under discussion, but this does not mean that the wording will remain as it is now. It will undergo changes depending on the results of further talks with republican leaderships to be held at the SFRY Presidency.

Foreign Secretary Loncar Discusses 'Europe 92'

LD2306102690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0959 GMT 23 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Jun (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar maintains that the establishment of parliamentary democracy by means of multiparty elections and the stabilization of conditions in [the] entire country, Kosovo included, for which the prerequisites have already been partly created—would enable Yugoslavia to set off towards "Europe 92" more quickly than the other candidates running for the European community.

In his interview published in today's BORBA, Loncar said all political parties in the country, irrespective of whether they are in power or in opposition, would have to take an account not to destabilize Yugoslavia and not to incite tensions amongst Yugoslav nations.

He noted that Yugoslavia, according to the present state of feelings, was at the same time also far from Europe because, evidently, the fanning up of national passions also meant fomenting the animosities that would need time to be extinguished.

In his belief, Yugoslavia—being a central European and Mediterranean just as non-bloc or non-aligned country—can be attractive for Europe under unification.

Pointing to the fact that the transformation of blocs into a new system of security would be among the key questions, Loncar viewed that Yugoslavia, together with Europe's [word indistinct] countries, could give its specific contribution to the new system.

Yugoslavia, as one of the co-founders and current chairman of the movement of non-alignment, can be an additional impulse for Europe towards the understanding of the problems of most of the mankind so that it would become prevalently realized that neither a European "building" could be constructed in isolation from world developments.

The world wants Yugoslavia as a whole, stressing the significance of its integrity and wholeness on one hand and that of its democratic development on the other, said Loncar in conclusion.

Markovic on 'Confidential Official Organ'

LD2106154290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1452 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Jun (TANJUG)—Prime Minister Ante Markovic's government Thursday [21 June] presented the Federal Assembly with its answer to a question in parliament by Deputy Viktorija Potocnik about Yugoslavia's confidential official organ, saying that the conditions for its publication and use are regulated by a Federal Government act.

The government said that in preparation is a special report on the justification of the organ's further existence.

Regarding the legal status of the acts, which were not published in public, the government said that in question are mainly a number of instructions and regulations issued by the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs. They do not regulate issues linked to the citizens' rights and freedoms, but focus on a single technology of functioning in this field, the government said.

The Federal Government also underscored that the Yugoslav Defence Ministry has no "secret official organs." There only exists a confidential "official army paper" which publishes regulations and other general acts which constitute military secrets.

These regulations and acts are at the disposal of all administrative bodies, courts and other organs which are authorized to monitor and control their implementation, including organs not within the defence ministry and the Yugoslav People's Army which are authorized to carry out such a control, the Federal Government said.

Ideological Element of Common Symbols Raised

LD2206213990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1236 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Jun (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav state presidency is conducting talks with representatives of all

Yugoslav republics and provinces and will, only after it completes them, analyze the raised questions and take stands, as Yugoslav state presidency spokesman Lazar Vracaric stated to TANJUG today.

Vracaric made the statement in connection with a joint statement released yesterday by the Yugoslav state presidency and the leadership of the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which said that the "common symbols of future Yugoslavia should be freed of ideological elements. The common symbols should be only a seal, flag and anthem." It was not clear from the statement whether it expressed a jointly adopted stand, a stand of an individual body or an individual proposal.

Vracaric specified in his statement to TANJUG today that the Yugoslav state presidency has so far neither discussed nor given an opinion about the demands for the elimination of ideological elements from Yugoslav's common symbols, but that it will do so soon.

Continued Coverage of Kosovo 'Problem' in Serbia

Kosovo Delegates Leave Assembly Building

LD2206092790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0323 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Pristina, 22 Jun (TANJUG)—Kosovo Assembly delegates left the assembly building at 3:00 this morning after an agreement had been reached with the provincial government.

The delegates had been occupying the building for more than ten hours.

The crisis broke out Thursday [21 June] when delegate Ruzdi Bakali, an ethnic Albanian, demanded Kosovo's separation from the Republic of Serbia. Serbian-Montenegran delegates took the move as a separatist threat and the speaker, Djordje Bozovic, declared the session adjourned.

Ethnic Albanian delegates refused to leave the building and demanded that the session be resumed.

Serbian-Montenegran delegates also stayed fearing that ethnic Albanian delegates might pass a separatist act.

The adjourned session will be resumed on July 2, it was agreed this morning.

Assembly Proceedings Detailed

LD2206074090 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1554 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Excerpts] Pristina, 21 Jun (TANJUG)—The same atmosphere as yesterday can be found in the Kosovo Assembly today. Once again, several hours were wasted while people interrupted each other and prevented discussion on items on the agenda concerning consent to the Federal Executive Council amendments, as well as to the proposals of the SFRY and Serbian Presidencies for new federal and republican constitutions. Instead, Albanian delegates remain determined in their insistence that the initiative for passing a new Kosovo constitution be added to the agenda. [passage omitted]

Today the Albanian delegates were even more forward in their request. As delgeate Ruzdi Bakali stated in his supplementary report, they want Kosovo to have a new status in a future Yugoslav federation or confederation in which Kosovo would become a constituent unit. In other words, it is clear that the proposers want Kosovo to be made separate from Serbia, but they have not yet been specific as to what kind of a unit it would be—a republic or some other form of a separate state entity. [passage omitted: Delegate Zivorad Mirkovic described this project as separatist; the delegates argue over who is to be blamed for obstructing the Assembly's work]

Binaze Jasari urged that Kosovo's constitution and multiparty elections should be brought into being as soon as possible since, as she put it, Kosovo is becoming a training ground for violence, for poisoning Albanians and the like. A number of Albanian delegates even demanded that the deadline for the completion of this province's constitution be set by 5 July.

On the other hand, the delegates of the Serbian and Montenegrin, and to a certain extent of the Muslim nationalities, pointed out that such ultimatums were unsustainable. Garip Hadzini noted that the conditions for such an extensive initiative have not been met as he added that this made it obvious as to who was breaching and disrespecting the Assembly Code of Practice. In Dimitrije Tasic's opinion, it is unrealistic to impose deadlines on the competent organs.

Sefer Dundjeri assessed that what was happening there "was a fierce struggle for preserving Kosovo's statehood backed by the attacks on Serbia's sovereignty." Branislav Stolic aired a similar view by regarding the Albanians' conduct and demands as an action at dismantling Serbia and Yugoslavia and by saying that the nationalist wave was also approaching the Assembly benches. Stolic noted that all this was being done at the order of the Albanian separatists, sporting the guise of the allegedly democratic Alternative Movement. [passage omitted: a number of Albanian delegates were against the Albanian initiative]

Taking part in the discussion, Momcilo tajkovic, vice president of the Serbian Executive Council, assessed as indicative the fact that the Kosovo Constitutional Commission was not favorable to the proposal of the SFRY and Serbian Presidencies for the passing of new federal and republican constitutions. In Trajkovic's words, dark forces, which would like to see Kosovo as a republic, are behind all this, whether we admit it or not. The highest legal document of the province cannot be passed without the previously approved adoption of the federal and republican constitutions. This is a dangerous initiative which has been forced upon us, warned Trajkovic. [passage omitted: more disagreements voiced between those for and against the initiative]

Several delegates called for reason and for a need to concentrate on the very serious political and security situation in Kosovo. Milan Djurinac illustrated it by saying that a meeting of Yugoslav businessmen on the Kosovo economic reform—scheduled to take place in Brezovica today—was called off because the guests were afraid to come to this province. [passage omitted including passage indistinct] Pristina television relayed the session with a one-hour delay. As explained to the delegates, live coverage of yesterday's session was not permitted. Last night, Pristina television broadcast a special three-hour program on yesterday's session.

Executive Council Blamed for 'Chaos'

AU2206110090 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Jun 90 p 1

[S. Popovic report: "No Agreement Because of Divisions"]

[Text] Belgrade—No agreement was reached at a joint session of the Executive Councils of the Assemblies of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo held in Pristina on 9 June. Neither were the causes of the present situation in the Province connected with the non-functioning and blockage of the constitutional and legal system in Kosovo jointly established, nor was the manner in which the two councils should work agreed upon. Therefore, no joint statement was issued.

As Dragan Nikolic, member of the Republican Executive Council in charge of Kosovo said, the essence is that the majority of the Provincial Executive Council members do not accept that they should implement the policy of the Socialist Republic of Serbia on Kosovo. The very fact that they refuse to accept the Socialist Republic of Serbia policy, Nikolic said, leads to the conclusion that they accept some other policy, which can be seen from the discussions conducted. Politically, constitutionally, and legally, this was unacceptable to us. It is a matter of a kind of a constitutional coup, because the changes to the republic's Constitution, the 1989 amendments, are not accepted in Kosovo in practice.

In this connection, Nikolic mentioned the provincial decisions that the laws on a unified mail, telegraph, and telephone enterprise, electricity production, railroad transportation, and others are no longer implemented. He also mentioned the decision of the Provincial Executive Council and the provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs that arbitrarily interpreted the law on internal affairs and simply allocated 500 unallocated militiamen to new posts and displayed the striving to make them a core or a beginning of their own militia, so that they may have their parallel organs. All in all, the Albanian national rulers find it difficult to give up the statehood of the province.

Illustrating the talks that the two councils conducted in Pristina, Nikolic quoted the most important part of the conclusions which the ethnic Albanian members of the Provincial Executive Council, headed by President Jusuf Zejnulahu, did not accept, while all the ethnic Serb, Montenegrin, and Muslim members of the Provincial Executive Council did accept them. The quoted part which was not accepted reads: "The Executive Council of Serbia and the Executive Council of Kosovo have agreed that within their powers, jointly and severally, strictly and keenly, they will implement Serbia's policy in Kosovo, set by the Constitution and the law, whose essence is the autonomy of Kosovo within Serbia; full national equality of all who live in Kosovo, democratization with a broad range of political opinions while preserving the territorial integrity of Serbia and the constitutional system; prevention of ethnic divisions and hatred, and of threats to the security of persons and property of all the people in Kosovo; prevention of the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins under duress and their return to Kosovo; the implementation of a policy of mutual tolerance and joint life; accelerated economic development and prosperity of Kosovo on the basis of much more efficient work and aid by Serbia and Yugoslavia."

Nikolic pointed out that such an attitude of the ethnic Albanian members of the Provincial Executive Council contains the causes of the inefficiency and blockage in the functioning of the rule-of-law state, which in fact is the aim of the Albanian separatists. The Executive Council of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo is thus assuming responsibility for the situation and the consequences that may arise from this. The Executive Council of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and its organs, he stressed, will propose, in keeping with their constitutional powers, to the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia appropriate measures, or will undertake such measures that will prevent a legal and economic chaos and possible ethnic clashes with unforeseeable consequences for the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

Abolition of 'Nationalist' Bodies Proposed

AU2306195690 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Jun 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "To Abolish Nationalist Institutions"]

[Text] Pristina—The Association for the Return of Serbs and Montenegrins to Kosovo and Metohija, "Peony," warns in a statement, among other things, that it is high time that the state of Serbia, like all sovereign states, urgently abolish all nationalist institutions in Kosovo—like the Academy of Sciences, the Albanology Institute, and so on—which are working to destroy it.

It is also demanded that the competent organs at Pristina University, in general education, health, and other sectors in Kosovo determine, as soon as possible, who may work for them, because there can no longer be any room for enemies. The "Peony" association proposes that all those institutions which do not dismiss these people

should be deprived of all their subsidies, of which 90 percent is provided by Serbia, it is claimed.

Draskovic on Kosovo, Macedonia

AU2306204090 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jun 90 p 2

["Dj."-signed report: "The Opposition Is Writing a Constitution"]

[Text] Pozarevac—Along with the existing one, Serbia will have one more constitution by the end of the year and it will be written by the Serbian opposition. Five opposition parties will hold multiparty elections in Serbia. A joint declaration concerning this will be signed soon and a parallel constitutional assembly will be constituted in Serbia by the end of the year. This was what Vuk Draskovic, president of the Serbian Renewal Movement, told about 700 people (many have remained outside the building) attending the promotion of the Serbian Renewal Movement in the Pozarevac Cultural Hall the day before yesterday. Draskovic claimed that the present communist authorities in Serbia will be forced out of power if they fail to agree to multiparty elections.

Serbia must not be anybody's property. No party, including the communist, must feel that it has the right to own it, Draskovic pointed out. However they may be changing clothes and birth certificates, communists remain what they are and will have to give up the monopoly they held for half a century. Serbia is not the heirloom of Edvard Kardelj, Karl Marx, Josip Broz, and Slobodan Milosevic. It belongs to all the people living in it—whatever their religion or race or political conviction—all those people who feel that Serbia is their unalienable and indivisible homeland.

Draskovic sees the solution to the Kosovo problem in abolishing many rights of the Albanian population in Kosovo.

Any kind of territorial autonomy in Kosovo is out of question, just as Albanian language, schools, and universities are. They all must write in the Cyrillic script there, Draskovic said.

In his opinion, when the Serbian Renewal Movement comes to power, it will dismantle the present mechanism of power in Kosovo. If Yugoslavia breaks apart, Draskovic thinks that territories with a Serbian majority must be given to Serbia.

Croatia also must have provinces, just as Serbia now has them, Draskovic said. Those would be Dubrovnik, Banija, Istria, and Slavonija. In the case of confederation, Serbia should be given the territories it brought to Yugoslavia on the day of unification, 1 December 1918. As far as Macedonian national question is concerned, Draskovic said that he respects everybody's right to an individual feeling of national affiliation. He added that in middle ages, even during the last century, nobody in the Balkans was aware of the Macedonians. This is a historic, ethnic truth.

Serbian Parties Oppose New Initiative

LD2206034290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1951 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Jun (TANJUG)—Serbia's eight opposition parties have sent their document on Kosovo to the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, the republic's Assembly, and the public, in which they resolutely protest against the initiative of the 61 delegates of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, who intend to cancel last year's approval to the amendments to the Serbian Constitution and adopt a new constitution for the province.

This document states that the decision on adopting the amendments to Serbia's Constitution is irrevocable and that the provincial Assembly cannot decide to change or abrogate this Constitution.

The opposition notes that every decision of this kind to change or cancel unilaterally any part of Serbia's Constitution "will be unconstitutional and illegitimate".

If it chooses to change or abrogate any part of Serbia's valid Constitution the Assembly of Kosovo and Metohija will "place itself beyond the Constitution and law" and in so doing, will practically suspend the province's autonomy, the opposition's statement says, adding that the competent organs of Serbia must immediately establish and "bear all the direct consequence."

The opposition parties in Serbia consider each attempt of the Kosovo Assembly to this effect as "an indisputable act of rebellion" which must be quelled by all means of state repression, it is said in the document signed by the Democratic Party [Demokratska Stranka], the Serbian Renaissance Movement [Srpski Pokret Obnove], the Serbian St Sava party [Srpska Svetosavska Stranka], Democratic Forum, the Serbian Cetnik Movement [Srpski Cetnicki Pokret], the People's Radical Party [Narodna Radikalna Stranka], the Democratic Party of Freedom [Demokratska Stranka Slobode], and the Belgrade branch of the Association of the Party of Yugoslavs [Stranka Jugoslavena]

Finally, Serbia's eight parties conclude that it is precisely the current situation that demonstrates to what extent the demand for having free, multiparty elections to Serbia's constitutional Assembly announced and carried out by the end of this year, is justified.

At tonight's rally in Belgrade's Hall of Youth, representative of the Belgrade branch of the UJDI [Yugoslav Association for Democratic Initiative], Nebojsa Popov, did not sign the joint document because his remarks to the text "had not been adopted", although the UJDI supports "resistance to repression" as a matter of principle. President of the Serbian National Renaissance Mirko Jovic declined to sign the document because, as

he put it, "it solves nothing." Escorted by his like-minded followers Jovic then left the hall.

At the rally in the Hall of Youth, it was confirmed that on 27 June "peaceful demonstrations and a sit-in will take place" outside the Belgrade Television building. All the opposition parties will take part in "this continuation of the action" against director general of Belgrade Radio and Television, Dusan Mitevic, as they demand that he should be ousted immediately.

Further on Serbian Opposition

LD2206095390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0102 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Jun (TANJUG)—Eight Serbian opposition parties today protested against the initiative of 61 Kosovo deputies to revoke last year's agreement of the Provincial Assembly on the changes to the republican constitution.

Under the constitutioal changes, the Republic of Serbia asserted its state functions on the territory of its two provinces, Kosovo and Vojvodina, in March 1989, after 15 years.

Ethnic Albanian deputies in the Kosovo Assembly recently urged the revoking of last year's agreement of the Political Assembly on the constitutional changes since they curb Kosovo's autonomy.

The Serbian opposition parties' document, sent today to the Serbian state presidency, parliament and public, claims that the decision to agree to the amendments is irrevocable and that Serbia's constitution could not be changed and annulled by a one- sided decision of a Provincial Assembly.

According to the opposition, a decision to one-sidedly change or annul a party of Serbia's constitution would be "unconstitutional and illegitimate". By reaching such a decision, the Provincial Assembly "would put itself outside the constitution and law" and thus practically suspend the province's autonomy, the statement said.

Serbian opposition parties (?assessed) any attempt by the Kosovo Assembly in that direction as an "undoubted act of rebellion" which should be quelled by coercive measures, says the document signed by the Democratic Party, Serbian Renewal Movement, Serbian st sava [as received] Party, Democratic Forum, Serbian Chetnik Movement, National Radical Party, the Democratic Party of Freedom and the Belgrade branch of the Party of Yugoslavs.

'Dissolution' of Kosovo Government Sought

LD2206103190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0959 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Pristina, 22 Jun (TANJUG)—The daily JEDINSTVO of Pristina, capital of the Yugoslav Autonomous Province of Kosovo, today calls for the dissolution of the provincial assembly, government, and other bodies, which it says "make it possible for Kosovo to be a state within a state."

Mirko Cupic, a commentator of the Pristina daily, which is published in Serbo-Croatian, criticizes the "generosity of the Assembly of Serbia," a republic of which Kosovo is a part. The commentator insists that the "further tolerating of anti-Serbian activities unavoidably leads to an inter-nationality conflict."

The Pristina daily writes that the fact that ethnic-Albanian delegates of the Kosovo Assembly continue refusing to approve amendments to the federal constitution and the constitution of Serbia is "far less disturbing than the realization that there still lacks a readiness to deny them such and similar opportunities."

Ethnic-Albanian members of the Kosovo Assembly have in the past few days refused to approve amendments to the federal constitution and the constitution of Serbia insisting that, if the amendments are adopted, some powers of the autonomous Province of Kosovo will be taken over by the Republic of Serbia. Kosovo, the cradle of the Serbian medieval state, is now predominantly populated by ethnic Albanians.

LC Secretary Minic Endorses Serbian Party Merger

AU2206122190 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Jun 90 p 1

[M. Momcilovic report: "A Party for a Democratic and Socialist Way for Serbia"]

[Text] Leskovac, 16 Jun—Milomir Minic, secretary of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists [LC] of Serbia, visited the Southern Morava region today. Minic spoke to the political aktivs in Leskovac and Vranje on the current political situation in Serbia.

Minic underscored that a strong leftist party was being established in Serbia which will be oriented to the future and will be capable of facing up to the challenges of the times.

By setting up the Socialist Party, we are uniting the left wing and ensuring the creation of a new political party as the most influential political force that is capable of providing a democratic and socialist path for the development of Serbia.

As regards the preparations for the 12th Congress of the LC of Serbia, Minic stressed the necessity of adhering to the established dynamics so that in future no one will be able to say that the leadership was collectively leading the membership into some new party.

The most important thing for us and for all leaderships at this time is to understand reality and in this context lead positive processes so that we will be able to prevent conflicts.

As regards the economic situation in Serbia, Minic added, we have used the measures of the Federal Executive Council to halt inflation, but we have not resolved the crisis. A particular difficulty is illiquidity, which is reducing the conditions for development. Therefore, if we want a way out of the crisis we must change the economic structure and enter a new investment cycle.

Milomir Minic also dealt with the constitutional changes, saying that the 1974 Constitution put Serbia under the patronage of the provinces with the federation's blessing. A democratic constitution is now being prepared which will guarantee total freedom and rights for citizens. The LC of Serbia will expressly adhere to the view that elections should be entered into only after a new constitution has been adopted, Minic said in conclusion.

Montenegro LC To Shun 'Bolshevik Tradition'

AU2406171090 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Jun 90 p 6

[S.Papovic report: "We Shall Dissociate Ourselves From Bolshevik Traditions"]

[Text] Tivat, 19 Jun—A meeting entitled "Together for Socialism, Democracy, and Development" was held on an open-air stage in Tivat last night, before several hundred citizens of this town in Boka Kotorska.

The following people spoke at this meting at which the election program of the League of Communists [LC] of Montenegro was presented: Momir Bulatovic, president of the Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Montenegro; Boris Pean, president of the Communal Committee of the LC of Tivat; and Gavro Vucurovic, Tivat delegate to the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro. Milo Djukanovic, secretary of the Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Montenegro, and Svetozar Marovic, member of the Presidium, attended the meeting.

Speaking about the coming elections in Montenegro, among other things, Momir Bulatovic said the following:

"The LC of our republic has made a significant contribution to the democratic awakening. However, the LC will have to continue to carry along its fallacies from the past. We do not demand an absolution of sins or pardon. We shall simply dissociate ourselves from the classic Bolshevik tradition, but the idea of socialism cannot become superseded. The first steps toward the democratization of social relations have destroyed the image of an idyllic society of harmony and tolerance, but there is no reason to panic and give up the struggle for rational democratic solutions."

Having pointed out that history cannot be altered, Bulatovic added the following:

"A dialogue must be held at the Yugoslav level and be based on recognizing independence and territorial integrity of the SFRY as a democratic federation. Montenegro is a state within the Yugoslav Federation and we accept that our sovereignty may be limited only if that is in favor of the federation. Under any other arrangement, Montenegro will be an independent state. Our state is based on freedom, equality, and guaranteed civil rights. There is a place in Montenegro for all people of good will, particularly for those who can contribute their capabilities and knowledge to the benefit of their families, the republic, and the country as a whole."

SFRY, Montenegrin Leaders Discuss Federation

LD2306023390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2141 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Titograd, 22 Jun (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia has to drop political monism and free its constitution from political and ideological terms, top officials of Yugoslavia's Republic of Montenegro noted during a meeting here on Friday [22 June] with members of the Federal State Presidency.

Members of the Republican Presidency said they advocate Yugoslavia as a federation of equal Yugoslav peoples whose new constitution would provide for the federal state jurisdiction over the country's defence and security, foreign policy, economic relations with other countries, crediting-monetary and taxation policies.

The introduction of a multiparty parliamentary system was stressed as another essential requirement, along with an electoral law which would guarantee the opposition's influence on parliamentary affairs, thus preventing any party from having a monopoly.

The discussion, which focused on forthcoming change in the Federal Constitution and future relations in Yugoslavia, is one of several that members of the Yugoslav collective head of state are having lately with representatives of all federal units.

The representatives of Montenegro informed members of the Yugoslav State Presidency that a law on political association and electoral law, which should provide the basis for the republic's first postwar multiparty elections, would be enacted by the end of September, while the parliamentary elections would be held by the end of the year.

Communist Chief on Federation's Foes

LD2406142590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1220 GMT 24 Jun 90

[Text] Cetinje, 24 Jun (TANJUG)—Leader of the communists of Yugoslavia's republic Montenegro Momir Bulatovic stated today in Cetinje, one-time capital of Montenegro, that the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) has not been a step-mother to any of its nations and nationalities. He said that the SFRY's opponents today are precisely those who had gained the most by its creation.

Bulatovic was speaking at a meeting which marked the 54th anniversary of the communists' mass demonstrations which were quelled in blood by the police.

Montenegro, said Bulatovic, has never regarded the unification of southern Slavic nations as "a calculated marriage" and hence it disapproves of assertions that "certain nations" might have been better off had they not decided in favour of Yugoslavia.

If they could, why did they not, and if they have suffered this long, let them suffer no more—said Bulatovic. If one wants to go, farewell to him, for love no one can give to any one by force—he added.

Montenegro, stressed Bulatovic, profoundly respects the commitments of voters in Slovenia and Croatia, the republics in which the first multi-party elections were held in April and May.

In the interest of the survival of Yugoslavia as a democratic federation of equal nations and nationalities, Montenegro is ready to relegate to the background all the differences in political convictions and ideological prejudices—Bulatovic said.

Slovene Government on Constitution Amendments

LD2106162790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1512 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 21 Jun (TANJUG)—The amendments to the current Yugoslav constitution should be upheld only if they provide for democratic processes and make possible the establishing of an instrument for opening confederal negotiations, it was said at a session of the government of the Yugoslav republic of Slovenia on Thursday [21 June].

In a debate at today's session, opinions were divided on whether the draft amendments should be discussed or rejected but a stand was voiced that the adoption of a republican constitution should precede that of the federal one.

It was concluded that the amendments which are not detrimental to Slovenia should be upheld while others should be linked with the talks on confederation. The Slovenian Government's stand is that they should meet with Croatian representatives before reaching a decision.

The Slovenian Government did not give its consent to the draft on the supplement law on financing the federation, noting that the remained funds of last year's federal budget should be transferred to this year and the contributions of the republics and provinces adequately reduced.

Today's session did not accept a demand of the Serbian Assembly for adopting a special law on the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier on the Avala mountain near Belgrade. The adoption of a new state symbol—besides the existing coat of arms, flag and hymn—is not needed, it was said at the session.